

Shri K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume—Part I

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FOREWORD

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan conceived the idea of presenting Shri Munshiji a volume of essays on various aspects of Indian history and culture and allied subjects of study written by distinguished scholars all over India in celebration of his having completed 60 years. An editorial committee consisting of Acharya Jinavijayaji, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Prof. Jayantakrishna H. Dave, Prin. V. N. Bhushan, Prof. Ramnarain V. Pathak and Prof. H. C. Bhayani was appointed with this object in view. They issued an appeal and received about sixty papers. It was decided to publish this Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume in two parts, the first of which the Committee have now the great pleasure to offer to the public.

The response to the Committee's appeal has been both generous and representative. This will be evident from the number and variety of papers included in this volume. It will be invidious to single out particular names, but the Committee are proud to feel that the contributors include a large number of scholars whose name and fame have spread far beyond the boundaries of India. The articles also cover a wide variety of subjects dealing with history, politics, philosophy, religion, art, science and literature. This is a fitting tribute to one whose versatile talents and achievements in various fields of activity such as law, politics, diplomacy, literature, education and social service have earned for him a unique place in India of to-day. The Committee take this opportunity of conveying their heartfelt thanks to the band of scholars who have contributed to make this volume a rich and suitable offering to a great genius and a distinguished Indian.

Little need be said here on the life and activities of Shri K. M. Munshi. They are too well-known all over India and have been discussed from different points of view in a volume entitled "Munshi—His Art and Work" published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Shri K. M. Munshi. But such

is the dynamic personality of Shri Munshi that he has won new laurels in fresh fields even during the short period of two years that have passed since its publication. The far-sighted statesmanship which he displayed as the Agent General of the Government of India to Hyderabad is still fresh in our memory, and when the true history of this premier state of India in its last phase comes to light, the world will perhaps learn with agreeable surprise the extent to which Shri Munshi contributed to the final happy solution of this acute and perplexing problem by his tact, judgment and personality.

Shri Munshi is still full of life and vitality and it would not be too much to hope that the writer of the Foreword to the Second Part of this volume will have again something new to add to his brilliant achievements. With this hope and prayer I beg to offer to Shri Munshi this humble offering of his countrymen in token of respect and admiration, and of gratefulness for his splendid services to the cause of our common motherland.

March 15, 1949

R. C. MAJUMDAR

PREFACE

The Diamond Jubilee of Shri K. M. Munshi was the most happy event for the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and the Bhavan decided that one of the ways to celebrate the memorable occasion was to present a volume of Indological Studies to our President. The Editorial Board accordingly sent Circular Letters inviting contributions to various scholars. The response was very encouraging. The Editorial Board, however, regrets the delay in publication owing to unavoidable circumstances. It is indeed an unfortunate contrast to the readiness and promptitude with which the learned contributors responded to our request. It has now been decided to publish the volume in two parts, and we have great pleasure in issuing the first part.

The volume comprises of about 60 articles contributed by learned scholars each of whom has written on the subject of his special study. These articles cover a wide range of subjects in the field of Indology, and are bound to make the volume a very useful publication with its appeal to a variety of intellectual interests and aptitudes. We tender our grateful thanks to all contributors. Particular mention must be made of scholars outside India, viz. Drs. Carpani, Dumont, Eliade, Pisani, Renou, and Ruben, who sent their papers at a short notice.

It is a matter of deep regret to us that two of our valued contributors, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Dr. B. M. Barua, passed away while the volume was in print. Both were scholars of international reputation and authorities in their respective fields. Dr. Coomaraswamy was the greatest interpreter and historian of Indian Art, and Dr. Barua was the doyen of Pali and Buddhistic scholars. Their death has been a serious loss to Indian scholarship.

Munshi's life and life-work, his universal interests, his services to the cause of Aryan Culture, Bhagavadgītā and Sanskrit Learning, his various social, educational, literary and political activities, and above all, his unique role in the creation of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and in bringing it to its present standard, are too well known to be dealt with here.

Shri Munshiji's excursions in the domain of Indology are not as widely known as his achievements in other fields, and hence for the information of the general reader it is thought necessary to refer in brief to his important and valuable contributions to Oriental and historical research.

In "Gujarāta and Its Literature", a standard and authoritative work dealing critically and comprehensively with the Literature of Gujarat during the last twelve hundred years, Munshiji has, for the first time, fixed the chronological position of Narasimha Mehta, who was till then placed in c. 1450 A. C., and supposed to have flourished before Caitanya. Munshiji has shown that the Bhakti of Narasimha bears traces of the Vṛndāvana School, and he could not have preceded Caitanya.

"Early Aryans in Gujarāta" which formed the subject of the Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji Lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay contains Munshiji's views about the comparative value of the Vedic Texts and the Purāṇas, the early Vedic tribes, the career of Paraśurāma, the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict and the historicity of the Bhārata War. He has shown that the Śāryātas and the Bhṛgus were the earliest Aryan colonisers of Gujarāta, and Śāryāti was the first Aryan connected with it. Māhiṣmatī of the Kārtavīryas, generally identified with Onkar Mandhata, Mandala, or Maheshwar, has been located, on the basis of sound reasons, somewhere near Broach. Munshiji has also attempted to show that the story of the Mahābhārata is historically unreliable, and is based on the traditions grown up round the Dāśarājña and the great conflicts of Paraśurāma. In support, he has also adduced the evidence of the conspiracy of silence of the Vedic Texts about the Bhārata War and the heroes participating therein.

Munshiji pursued the same subject in its wider application in "The Aryans: Pre-Vedic and Vedic", which forms the major part of the first volume of the "Glory that was Gūrjara deśa". This section surveys the home and the international contacts of the early Aryans during pre-Vedic period. Munshiji proves, on a variety of grounds, that Saptasindhu is the original home of the Aryans. He finds three main layers, viz. pre-

Varuṇa, Varuṇa, and Indra, in the pre-Vedic and Vedic Aryans. Munshi's conclusions show that the Atharvan Aryans were the earliest in the field, and may be connected with the Indus Valley Civilisation. They evolved the same tradition in Persia and India, which was later replaced by Varuṇa worship. Paṇis were connected with Atharvan Aryans. Vedic Aryans, either directly or through Atharvan Aryans of the West Coast, were in contact with the Sumerians, who were Indian in type and whose records disclose many features similar to those in Atharvan tradition.

The problem of the early Aryan settlers in Gujarat has been further developed in the "Linguistic Provinces and the Future of Bombay" where Munshi shows that the Kaṅkaṇas and Bhṛgukacchas who inhabited Gujarāta were the first to introduce Aryan language in the West Coast. It is further shown that the Konkani is derived from an ancestor of Śaurasenī Prakrit.

"Imperial Gūrjaras" which deals exhaustively with the history of Gūrjaradeśa in all aspects from 500 to 1300 A. C. may be considered as the *magnum opus* of Munshi. The varying boundaries of Gūrjaradeśa have been studied chronologically. The panorama of the successive rulers of Gūrjaradeśa, the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, and the Cālukyas, is vividly portrayed. Munshi has taken into account all earlier writers in the field. As the result of piecing together all inscriptions and Jain literary works on the subject, he has proved that the Agnikula and the foreign origin theory in connection with the Gūrjaras is untenable. Munshi has established that the Pratihāras, Cāhamānas, Cālukyas and Paramāras were allied clans belonging to Hindu society from the first time they appear in history. The Gūrjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj have been shown to have come from the region of Mt. Abu, and to have ruled Northern India (including parts of modern Gujarat) for over 250 years. The most important and original contribution of Munshi on the subject is the identification of Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyadeva of Kalyāṇakāṭaka with the Pratihāra Mihira Bhoja (also known as Bhoja, or Bhūbhṛt, or Ādivarāha) of Kanauj, and the reconstruction of his glorious reign.

The real nature of the so-called invasions of Mahmud has

been shown to be mere passing raids, and the important role played by the Gūrjara kings in resisting the invaders has been fully explained. Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the Pratihāra dynasty, was the first to defeat the Arab armies, and restore Gūrjaradeśa to freedom. The weakening of the Gūrjara Empire helped Mahmud in his early successes, but finally the Emperor Bhoja Paramāra of the one of the branches of Gūrjaras with the help of Bhīma Cālukya of Anahilvada Patan accounted for Mahmud. The Gūrjaras not only defended their homeland successfully against pressing invaders but defeated Qutb-ud-din who had advanced to Pāṭāṇa. Gūrjaras was the last power to resist the Muslims, and after the fall of the Gūrjaras no power was left in North India to face the invaders. The Retrospect at the end of the book analyses the causes that led to the collapse of North India under the Muslim invaders and is thought-provoking.

Here then is a briefly detailed estimate of Munshiji's contribution to Indological studies in this country. And even from this it will be clear that though his work has not been very extensive, it has been of vital importance. One feels that if only Munshiji had more time to spare for such work, he would certainly be one of the top-ranking Indologists. But that may have to remain only as a hope, for, Munshiji is too far busy with even so many pursuits that he simply cannot find time to concentrate on scholarship and research. Even so, the surprise is that he has found time to do this much important work which bears the characteristic marks of his activities—namely, thorough knowledge of the subject, firm grasp of details, lucid exposition, and pleasant presentation. May his work prove to be a source of unerring guide and abundant inspiration to all others in the field !

Our homage to Shri Munshiji – the happy harvester of rich research !

JINAVIJAYA MUNI,
R. C. MAJUMDAR,
A. D. PUSALKER,
J. H. DAVE,
V. N. BHUSHAN,
R. V. PATHAK,
H. C. BHAYANI.

— C O N T E N T S —

AUTHOR	CONTRIBUTION	PAGE
Dr. A. S. Altekar	Ancient Indian Polity and Modern Constitutional Problems	1
Dr. V. M. Apte	Is Diti in the Ṛgveda a mere reflex of Aditi ?	14
Prof. B. M. Barua	Aśoka's Examples : Their formative influence	23
Prof. U. C. Bhattacharya	Rules of Warfare in Epic India	37
Dr. S. S. Bhawe	Vikramorvaśīyam Act IV	62
Prof. H. C. Bhayani	Abdala Rahamāna's Saṁdeśarāsaka and Jayasī's Padumāvati	81
Dr. Enrico Gerardo Carpani	Psychology of Dream-Phenomena of Vedic Philosophy	90
Shri S. N. Chakravarti	The Narrative style in Early Indian Art	104
Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	The Common Wisdom of the World	120
Dr. S. K. De	The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre	125
Dr. G. V. Devasthali	Mīmāṃsā and the Modern Science of Legal Interpretation	132
Dr. V. G. Dighe	Jamav Daftar – An Important Source for the Social History of the Marathas	143
Rao Bahadur P. C. Diwanji	Brahma-Ākāśa Equation : Its Origin and Development	148
Prof. P. E. Dumont	A Note on Mahābhārata 1.224.12	174
Prof. Mircea Eliade	Sapta Padāni Kramati	180
Shri A. S. Gadre	The Kaṭaccuris in Western India	189
Dr. D. C. Ganguly	On the Pratihāra Mahīpāla	194

Prof. P. K. Gode	The Manufacture and Use of Fire-Arms in India between A. D. 1450 and 1850	202
Dr. A. S. Gopani	Jainism in Gujarāta	229
Dr. R. G. Harshe	Two illustrated manuscripts on Dreams	246
Shri S. Venkita-subramonia Iyer	Līlāvativīthi of Rāmapāṇivāda	269
Prof. Jagan Nath	Epigraphic Notes	277
Dr. P. M. Joshi	The Reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah II of Bijapur	284
Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane	The Problem of the Introduction of Rāśis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology	310
Dr. H. R. Karnik	The Legend of the Āptya-Devatās—Trita, Dvita and Ekata	316
Shri. S. L. Katre	Harisvāmin, the Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa : A Protégé of Vikramāditya, The Great, of tradition : His Date—c. 54 B. C.	325
Sardar M. V. Kibe	Historical facts of the personality and reign of Vikramāditya	341
Shri K. Krishnamurthy	Ānandavardhana's treatment of Doṣa	357
Dr. B. C. Law	Slavery as known to early Buddhists	365
Dr. G. P. Majumdar	Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India	372



Shri K. M. MUNSHI

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY AND MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

Mr. Kanaiyalal Munshi, in whose honour the present volume is being issued, has spent the greater part of his life and energy in discovering and interpreting Ancient Indian Culture and in striving to accelerate the progress of the motherland towards the goal of political independence. It would, therefore, be but appropriate that the volume should have a paper describing the general features of Ancient Indian Polity, making its critical and impartial estimate and discussing the lessons it has to teach to us, which may be valuable now in the task of constitution-making in which the country is at present engaged. We propose to attempt this in the present paper.

A General Estimate

We shall first proceed to form a general estimate of the ancient Indian polity and its achievements. While doing so, we shall take an absolutely impartial standpoint. We must not, however, forget that ancient kings and institutions cannot be judged by standards then not known anywhere. We must make due allowance for the circumstances and surroundings in which the Hindu polity and administration were working and then form our estimate of it. We shall also state briefly the lessons deducible from our general survey and estimate; they can be of use for the present and the future.

Several types of states like republics, oligarchies, diarchies and monarchies were prevailing in India in ancient times, but eventually monarchy became the order of the day. This phenomenon was not peculiar to ancient India; it repeated itself in ancient Europe also where we find the republics in Greece and Italy being gradually supplanted by monarchies and empires. Representative government was not known both to the ancient east and west, and so republica

could prosper only when the state was small and a meeting of its Assembly, consisting practically of all the senior members of its privileged order, was possible. As in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, political power was vested not in the whole population, but in the members of a small privileged order, mostly consisting of Kṣatriyas and perhaps of the Brāhmaṇas also, in a few cases. The Hindu polity worked in a society that had accepted the principles of the caste system, which laid down that government was primarily the function and duty of the Kṣatriyas, assisted to some extent by the Brāhmaṇas. 'Franchise' in the ancient Indian republics could, therefore, not be extended to the whole population. In the modern age, which does not believe in the predetermination of one's functions by birth, it will naturally have to be extended to all.

Democracy is the order of the day at present and we all hope to have a full-fledged republic in India in the near future. It will be, therefore, necessary to understand the causes that led to the disappearance of the republics in ancient India. Generally speaking republics could function successfully in ancient India in smaller states. They also presupposed a kind of tribal unity in the governing class; republics failed to develop into a purely territorial state of large dimensions. Distances are annihilated now; the principle of representative government has been discovered and is in universal practice. Tribal stage has been passed away long ago and we have now developed a national consciousness. There is, therefore, no reason why India should not function and flourish as a large republic.

Growing veneration for a hereditary ruler fostered by the principle of the divinity of king was also partly responsible for the disappearance of the ancient republics. When presidents, generals and members of the council became hereditary in republics, their polity could not be much differentiated from monarchy. Divinity of king is now a dead doctrine and we need not apprehend that it will prejudice the development of the republican spirit or institutions in the modern times, except perhaps in the Indian states, where the monarchical

traditions are still nourished. Ancient Indian polity, however, conceded divinity only to virtuous, conscientious and able rulers, who acted as real trustees for their subjects, and who were prepared to sacrifice their own interests, comforts and funds to promote the well-being of their subjects. Monarchy can continue in Indian states only if their subjects are convinced that their monarchs belong to the above category. Our political thinkers, it should not be forgotten, condemn incapable, vicious and tyrannical kings as demons incarnate and permit their subjects to dethrone them, and even to kill them.

A study of ancient Indian history and polity shows that our republics flourished as long as there was harmony and concord among the members of their Assemblies. There was, however, a tendency among them to quarrel. In some republics every member of the Assembly was given the title of *rājā*; often he was not inclined to accept the leadership of a fellow-member, because it presupposed his own inferiority. Neighbouring kings used to send spies to foment quarrels and dissensions among the members of the republican bodies. Groups and parties were often formed in the republican assemblies and they spent their time and energy in bringing each other's downfall and incidentally paving the way of an outside conqueror. Many of the ancient Indian republics were destroyed by the neighbouring kings and emperors by encouraging feuds and dissensions among the members of their Assemblies. The party defeated in the Assembly would often seek outside help and thus seek the ruin of the state. Modern India, which seeks to develop republican traditions and institutions may well carve on the gate of its future Parliamentary House the prophesy of the Buddha about the Licchavi republic. The republic of the Licchavis, said the Buddha, will prosper as long as the members of their Assembly meet frequently, show reverence to age, experience and ability, transact the state business in concord and harmony and do not develop selfish parties engaged in eternal wrangling for their narrow and selfish ends. Our modern legislators must never forget this warning if the Indian republic is to prosper.

In the course of time, monarchy became the order of the day owing to the causes already explained. It cannot be denied that our political writers have placed the highest possible ideals before the kingly order; they can be hardly improved in modern times. The king was to be *dhṛtavrata*, pledged to maintain and defend law, order, justice and morality; he was not above the law, but subject to its jurisdiction. He was to be something even more than a trustee for his subjects; a trustee has merely to abstain from taking any undue advantage of his position, while promoting the interest of the trust; the king, according to the ancient Indian ideals, has to sacrifice his own personal comforts and interests in order to secure the prosperity of the kingdom. Divinity was conceded not to the *person* but to the *office* of the king. The theory that a king can do no wrong and is accountable to none but God was never advocated in ancient India as in medieval Europe. Attention of the king was pointedly drawn to the great necessity of proper training, the absence of which was sure to land him into numerous pit-falls, that do not come across the path of an ordinary individual. The doctrine of the divinity of the king's office was intended merely to inspire respect for authority, and not to encourage autocracy or irresponsibility in the kingly order.

It must be, however, admitted that in actual practice many kings failed to live up to the ideal. The percentage of vicious or tyrannical kings in ancient India was, however, by no means higher than in medieval or modern Europe. It would be, however, useful to understand the causes that were responsible for the non-realisation of the ideal of kingship in a large number of cases.

Failure to develop proper secular and constitutional checks on the power of the king was the main reason for the kingly ideals not being frequently realised in practice. Like medieval political thinkers of Europe, our ancient Indian thinkers did, no doubt, not say that a bad king was accountable to God alone. Nevertheless, in actual practice the fear of hell was the only effective deterrent in the case of a tyrant. Our writers no doubt permit subjects to migrate *en masse* from

the country, if the king became oppressive; ancient inscriptions supply some instances of kings being brought to their senses by this method. This remedy, however, is a very impracticable one and could not be easily resorted to. They also sanction regicide in extreme cases. Regicide, however, presupposes an open and successful rebellion; as a remedy against day-to-day petty cases of tyranny, it is altogether impracticable and inapplicable. Ancient Indian polity failed to develop secular and practicable remedies which could control the actions of a king, who was inclined to disregard the ideal and become tyrannical.

This failure was largely due to the disappearance of the *samiti* or Popular Assembly in the post-Vedic period. As long as this Assembly functioned, it could effectively control the actions of the king in the day-to-day administration. The Vedic literature makes it quite clear that a king could succeed in maintaining himself on the throne only so long as his *samiti* or Popular Assembly was in agreement with him. If there was a disagreement, the views of the Assembly generally prevailed, and kings had to submit or abdicate and go into exile.

Popular Assemblies, however, gradually disappeared in the post-Vedic period, not because democracy became more and more unsuitable to the Indian temperament, but because the state became bigger and bigger in size rendering the meetings of a Central Assembly more and more impracticable. Had Aśoka, Candragupta or Harṣa revived the Central Assembly, its members would have had to spend several weeks in reaching the capital in order to attend the Assembly meetings, and an equally long time in returning to their homes. The principle of representative government was also unknown in those days, both in the east and the west.

It is possible to try the experiment of a limited and constitutional monarchy in the modern Indian states, if the Popular and Representative Assemblies are allowed to function as in the Vedic period. Members of the princely order will have to remember that they will have to submit or abdicate and go into exile, if they cannot carry their Assembly with them.

Effective popular Central Assemblies being found impracticable in the case of larger kingdoms, ancient Indian political thinkers tried to protect the interests of the people by recommending and bringing about a great decentralisation of the functions of the government. Large powers were vested in the district, town and village administrations, which could be effectively supervised and controlled by local non-official councils. In the Gupta period, the sale of even the waste lands owned by the state required the sanction of the popular district council. The powers of town and village councils in ancient India were probably more extensive than those of similar bodies in any other polity, eastern or western, ancient or modern. They collected the revenues on behalf of the Central Government, refused to collect oppressive taxes, settled village disputes, organised works of public utility, and often maintained and financed hospitals, poor houses and educational institutions. It would be worth-while in the new Indian constitution to entrust larger and larger powers to the district boards and local and village councils. A word of warning, however, must be given. The village councils worked successfully in the past because the people had a high regard for truth and character and were instinctively inclined to respect age, experience and ability. Members of the village councils were not elected; they were raised to that position by the consensus of public opinion. Democracy of the modern type involving voting and party alignments did not exist, and is new to India. It presupposes wide spread of education, which must be immediately brought about. Fear of God and hell which has now disappeared must be replaced by the sense of civic duty which must induce our elected representatives to place the good of the people they represent above everything else.

Village Panchayats of ancient India exercised wide judicial powers. They decided practically all cases excepting those of serious crimes. Life in ancient times was simple, judicial disputes were usually confined to local parties and transactions, and the law to be administered was known to and understood by all. Modern law is complicated and presup-

poses technical knowledge and assistance ; parties to a dispute may often belong to distinct places. Village Panchayats in modern times cannot, therefore, successfully exercise that wide civil jurisdiction which they did in the past. Nevertheless a beginning must be made by investing them with a limited civil jurisdiction. It will be difficult for witnesses to tell brand lies in the presence of their fellow residents in the Panchayat courts, with reference to events and transactions well known to the locality. The revival of the Village Panchayat courts will no doubt secure speedier justice. There will be, however, some uphill task. The faith in God and the dread of hell that helped the cause of justice in ancient times are rapidly dying out. Party factions are cropping up in villages due to illiteracy and selfishness. So until a proper sense of civic duty and responsibility is developed to replace the faith in god and fear of hell, there will be some difficulty in the successful working of the Village Panchayats.

Ancient India sought to solve the problem of the finance of the local bodies by localising a part of the land revenue. Most of the villages could get back about 15 to 20% of the proceeds of the land-tax, which they collected for the Central Government, as its contribution to the funds of the village councils. This experiment is well worth trying in modern times.

There can be no doubt that ancient Indian political thinkers had evolved excellent principles for taxation. The grounds on which remissions were sanctioned and exemptions granted were also, as a rule, sound. All will agree that the state should gather the taxes like the bee which sucks the honey without damaging the flower, that trade and industry should be taxed not on gross earnings, but on net profits, that an article should not be taxed twice; that the rise in taxation when inevitable, should be gradual and so on. The principles of exemption were also sound. The original idea was to grant exemption only to learned but poor Brāhmaṇas, who used to impart free education. In some cases this privilege was abused, but the states usually did not fail to levy taxes on Brāhmaṇa traders and government servants. The cases where

the whole Brāhmaṇa class was exempted were very exceptional. In modern times we cannot and should not revive such a concession to any wholesale class determined solely by birth.

The taxation was usually determined by the local customs and traditions. In the later times, however, when the *samitis* disappeared from the scene, governments would often impose high and arbitrary taxes. We often find tugs of war between the central governments, which wanted to levy new and oppressive taxes and the village committees, which would refuse to collect them. Very often, however, power prevailed and justice went to the wall; we find villagers migrating *en masse* to escape unbearable taxation. There can be no doubt that in later times, the interests of the average man in the sphere of taxation were not adequately protected when a greedy tyrant was on the throne. This happened primarily because there was no *samiti* or popular assembly in later times. The importance of a strong and vigilant Popular Assembly as a champion of popular rights and interests cannot be over-emphasised.¹

The ancient Indian state was not merely a tax-gathering corporation, interested only in preserving law and order. It is pleasing and surprising to find that the state in ancient India should have interested itself in a number of ministrant activities of the nation-building type, which are being undertaken by the modern governments only in relatively recent times. Individual enterprise and initiative was, however, not usually affected by the activities of the state, because it would usually utilise the services of the guilds of trade and industry to carry out its policy. Freedom was also given to experts to chalk out their own plans within certain reasonable limits, and the state would give them substantial subsidies to carry them out, if they contributed to further its nation-building activities. This undoubtedly is a pleasing characteristic of the ancient Indian polity. State, for instance, helped education by giving liberal grants to non-official colleges and universities; it did not care to dictate their policy or courses through a Director of Public Instruction. The growing sphere of state socialism threatens to create a conflict between the individual

and the state in modern times. If the state seeks to materialise its plan and policy through the local bodies and trade-guilds and similar organisations, as it did in ancient India, the interests of both are likely to be harmonised.

The ideals of the ancient Indian state were undoubtedly very high and all-comprehensive. It sought to promote the moral, material, æsthetic and spiritual progress of the whole community. Human ideas about the progress in these different spheres go on changing from age to age, and it is no wonder that we may not be able to agree with all that the state in ancient India did or attempted in order to achieve progress in this fourfold field. For instance, it gave a general support to the *varṇāśramadharmā*, which was undoubtedly iniquitous, especially to the Śūdras and Untouchables. We must not, however, forget that a state is but the spokesman of the society it represents, and if certain iniquitous practices were tolerated by the state in ancient India, the society is as much to blame as the state. We should not judge ancient customs and institutions by modern standards and ideals. People in those days had a burning and living faith in the doctrine of Karma. They believed that a person is born as a Śūdra or Untouchable as a consequence of certain sins committed in the past lives. As a further consequence of the same, some classes have certain social and secular disabilities imposed upon them in this life as well under the sanction of the divine *śāstras*. It was impossible for the ancient Indian state even to think of disallowing these disabilities, much less of removing them. Equality of all citizens before the law did, therefore, not exist in ancient India to a great extent. It is no doubt a sad spectacle. We would all have felt prouder of our civilisation, if the Smṛti writers had imposed a higher punishment on the Brāhmaṇa culprit than on the Śūdra one, since they recognised the sin of the former to be greater than that of the latter. We should, however, not forget that such iniquities and inequalities existed in all civilisations, eastern and western, and have not completely disappeared even in modern times. If the fine for murdering a Śūdra is lighter than that for murdering a Brāhmaṇ, we should not forget that the wergeld for the head of a slave or serf was

much smaller in Europe than that for the head of a knight or landlord. Limited exemption from taxation sometimes sanctioned by the ancient Indian state to the Brāhmaṇas had its counter-part in the European polity where the church and nobility enjoyed many more unjust exemptions down to the 18th century. Ancient Indian state did, no doubt, not believe in affording opportunities to the son of a cobbler to become a premier; but such a phenomenon rarely occurred in ancient times, both in the west and the east. It will have to be admitted by the impartial critic that the ancient Indian state was not solicitous only for the interests of the Brāhmaṇas; it tried to promote the material and moral interests of all the castes; only it did not encourage one profession to trespass on the field of another, for society honestly believed that these fields were predetermined by birth.

The ideal of an all-India state under an emperor ruling over the territories from the Himalayas to the sea was recognised as early as c. 1000 B.C. if not earlier. There were, however, only few occasions in ancient Indian history when it was actually realised. The recognition of this ideal was probably a natural consequence of the realisation of the fundamental unity of India, geographical, religious and cultural. The ancient Indian polity, however, laid down that the empire should not be at the cost of local autonomy, culture and institutions; it therefore laid down that the *cakravartin* or the emperor should remain content, if his imperial status is recognised by the offer of a suitable tribute. He was not to annex the local, provincial or district kingdoms; even if the heads of the latter had been defeated or had died fighting, some relations of theirs were to be put on the throne on condition that they were willing to recognise the conqueror's suzerainty. Local laws, customs and traditions were never to be interfered with by the conqueror.

An all-India state powerful enough to bring about the unity of the country and to defend it from foreign aggression through a cooperative effort under the ægis of the Central Government, but generous and considerate enough to permit the existence of local governments following their own

customs, traditions and fostering their own culture and ideals, was thus the ideal of the ancient Indian polity. Curiously enough it is very much allied to our present ideal of a strong and united India with full autonomy to provinces and states. Let us, therefore, analyse a little more closely this ideal and find out its strong and weak points as disclosed by our ancient history.

The insistence of the political thinkers that a conqueror should allow the conquered king or state to retain his or its individuality in the feudal capacity undoubtedly produced many good results. It permitted local culture, traditions and political institutions to develop more or less unhampered. It toned down provincial and dynastic jealousies and animosities; for a province or a kingdom could, at most, aim at imposing its more or less nominal suzerainty over its neighbour; it could never aim at crushing its culture or wiping out its independent existence. Warfare also tended to remain humane; neither side had the danger of being completely wiped out if it was defeated; it, therefore, did not stoop to unchivalrous and unapproved methods to avert a defeat or win a victory.

While recognising that this ideal of an empire with a number of composite units governed by feudatory kings or republics had many good points about it, we cannot remain oblivious to certain injurious results that sprang from it. The recommendation to recognise local autonomy by permitting the conquered king or state to continue in the feudatory capacity eventually stood in the way of effective unification of India. Most of the ancient Indian empires were merely loose federations of a number of feudal kingdoms held together by a masterful personality. Most of his feudatories were usually entertaining imperial ambitions; for the political thinkers recognised that it was but a natural thing that each feudatory should aspire to the imperial status for himself. As a consequence big kingdoms and empires in ancient India were never in a state of equilibrium for a long time. There was a constant tussle going on for the coveted position of a *cakravartin*. It was the duty of each king to secure the expansion of his

kingdom by attacking his neighbours when they were weak. Feudatories were, therefore, usually on the look-out for an opportunity to rebel against the imperial power. Ninety percent of the wars in ancient Indian history would have been avoided if the ideal of the Cakravartin had not been recommended to every feudatory, and if its successful realiser had not been prevented from annexing the conquered state and compelled to permit it to continue to rule in the feudatory capacity.

Ancient Indian political thinkers probably thought that there was nothing wrong in this ideal. Probably they felt that each king, state or province should have a sporting chance to be the leading state in the country at some one time or another. Unending wars no doubt thus became inevitable; they were, perhaps, felt to be necessary to keep up the martial spirit and traditions of the Kṣatriyas. It did not matter whether it was to be Pāṭaliputra, Kanauj or Avantī which was to be the imperial capital of India. Whatever province may be at the head of the empire, the culture, religion and language of the subordinate provinces did not suffer, for the conqueror was expressly required to respect and encourage local traditions, cultures and institutions.

Ancient Indians began to become growingly indifferent in the course of time to the necessity and desirability of a strong and stable central state. As monarchies became the order of the day from c. 400 A.D., the inter-state struggles became dynastic wars for hegemony; people were not much interested in them because they knew that their local culture, laws and institutions would not be much affected, whatever may be the outcome of the struggle. Contending armies also fought not so much for their provinces as for their kings. There was hardly any patriotism in the real sense of the word. This ideal of a federal-feudal empire, with full liberty to each constituent state to strike for the imperial status but without permission to forge a unitary empire after the conquest, thus produced a state of continuous instability in ancient India. There were frequent wars, but they did not lead to the emergence of a strong and unitary state. The energy of the nation

was unnecessarily wasted in interminable feuds, which only weakened the combatants. The country as a whole became weak and fell an easy prey to the Muslim invaders.

The glance at our history shows that India has prospered only when it had succeeded in evolving a strong central government. In the age of the Mauryas, the Guptas and Akbar, India was able to make good progress because it had a strong Central government. The same fact is at the root of the progress made during the last 100 years. We cannot afford to forget this lesson of history when we frame our new constitution. The principle which required a conqueror to continue the conquered state in the feudal status with its old laws and customs unaffected is the modern principle of provincial autonomy in the ancient language and garb. It vouchsafes to every local unit full freedom to develop along its own lines and culture. But we cannot afford to give a standing permission to each province or state to have its own independent army and to make a bid for the hegemony over the rest, when it feels strong enough to do so. Our ancient political thinkers probably felt that such a permission should be regarded as fair in order that each state should have a sporting chance to be the leading power of Bhāratavarṣa at some time or other. This was a natural consequence of there being no representative government at the centre, where each constituent state or province could feel that it had a fair and just share of power, influence and representation. With a popular government at the centre of a representative character, modern polity can ill afford to permit the provinces or states to make a bid for all-India domination. Each province or state will have full autonomy and liberty to develop along its own lines, but all must subordinate their separatist tendency in order to forge a strong union government at the centre, powerful enough to defend the country, and capable enough to make India once more a powerful and flourishing country.

“ IS DITI IN THE ṚGVEDA A MERE REFLEX OF ADITI ? ”

BY DR. V. M. APTE

§1. There are but three passages in the Ṛgveda—IV. 2. 11; V. 62. 8 and VII. 15. 12—in which the word *diti* is used. In connection with the first of these (IV. 2. 11), Max Müller observes as follows¹ :—

“ It should be borne in mind that Diti occurs in the Ṛgveda thrice only, and in one passage it should, I believe, be changed into Aditi. This passage occurs in VII. 15. 12 : *tvām agne vīrā-vat yāsaḥ devūḥ ca savitā bhāgaḥ, ditiḥ ca dāti vāryam*. Here the name of Diti is so unusual and that of Aditi on the contrary, so natural, that I have little doubt that the poet had put the name of Aditi; and that later reciters, not aware of the occasional license of putting two short syllables instead of one, changed it into Diti. If we remove this passage, then Diti, in the Ṛgveda at least, occurs twice only, and each time together or in contrast with Aditi; cf. V. 62. 8, page 243. I have no doubt, therefore, that Professor Roth is right when he says that Diti is a being without any definite conception, *a mere reflex of Aditi*. We can clearly watch her first emergence into existence through what is hardly more than a play of words, whereas in the epic and Purāṇic literature this Diti (like the Suras) has grown into a definite person, one of the daughters of Daksha, the wife of Kaśyapa, the mother of the enemies of the Gods, the Daityas. Such is the growth of legend, mythology and religion ! ” (Italics mine). This opinion is endorsed by Macdonell,² when he says, “ The name of Diti as a Goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of Aditi, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura* ‘ God ’, was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, ‘ Demon ’ . ”

§2. The hint vaguely dropped here that *dī-ti* is formed from *ā-diti*, to express a positive sense does not accord with

1. SBE 32, 256.

2. *Vedic Mythology*, 123.

Macdonell's own very lucid exposition of the etymology of name of Aditi from *dī-ti*, 'binding', elsewhere!³ After pointing out that though other gods like Agni, Savitr, Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth are petitioned to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, he says, "This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding', 'bond-lessness' from *dī-ti* 'binding' (= GK. δῖ - σι - S), derived from the root *dā*, 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe Śunaḥśepa 'bound' (*dī-tā*) to the stake (V. 2. 7). Hence as a Goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (VIII. 67. 14). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the R̥V. Thus a worshipper exclaims 'who gives us back to great *aditi*, that I may see father and mother'? (I. 24. 1). The Ādityas are besought (VII. 51. 1) 'to place the offering in guiltlessness (*anāgāstve*) and freedom (*aditive*). The poet perhaps means the same thing when he prays to Heaven and Earth for 'the secure and unlimited gift of *aditi*' (1. 185. 3)".

§3. It is surprising that Macdonell should have himself given up this derivation of *dī-ti* from $\sqrt{dā}$ 'to bind', when he makes the following entry in his Vedic Grammar⁴ under the heading of Feminine action nouns with accent on the root, formed with the suffix *-ti* in Chapter IV (Nominal Stem formation): "*dī-ti* - 'liberality' (*dā*- 'to give')", adding in note (a): "The derivative *dī-ti* 'giving' when used as the final member of a compound is reduced to *-tti*: *bhāga-tti maghā-tti*; *vāsu-tti*," Similarly⁵ Grassman derives *diti* in all its three occurrences in the R̥V., from 1. *dā*, 'geben' or from 2. *dā* 'abschneiden'!

§4. In the opinion of the writer, although from a linguistic or grammatical point of view, it is possible to trace *dī-ti*, either to $3\sqrt{dā}$, 'to bind' or $1\sqrt{dā}$ 'to give' or even to $2\sqrt{dā}$ 'divide', R̥gvedic usage favours the assignment of the

3. Op. Cit. 121. 4. P. 122, § 148. 5. Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda.

word to $3\sqrt{dā}$ 'bind'. Compare, for example, the past participles formed from the three roots: $1\sqrt{dā}$ gives us *dāta* (contained in *tvā-dāta*) and *dattā*, or *-tta* (contained in *devātta*); $2\sqrt{dā}$ has *dind* and $3\sqrt{dā}$ 'bind' gives us *ditā* contained in *nī-ditam* (V. 2.7), *nīditā* (VIII. 103.11) and *sām-ditam* (I. 25.3), all in the sense of 'bound', 'secured' or 'guarded'. Now when the suffix *-ti* is used to form action and agent nouns, the root generally has the same weak form that appears before the *-ta* of the past passive participle, though it is more often accented than the suffix. It is, therefore, more probable (there can be no finality on the point) that *dī-ti* is rather the primary nominal derivative with suffix *-ti* from $3\sqrt{dā}$ 'bind'. $2\sqrt{dā}$ has no past participle in *-ta* and so it cannot be determined what form it would take before the primary nominal derivative suffix *-ti*, though theoretically it must be admitted that such a form may well be *dī-ti*, on the analogy of its past passive participle *dind*. $1\sqrt{dā}$ should give us the derivative *dāti*, present in *dāti-vāra*, and *havyā-dāti*. The element *-tti* in *bhāga-tti* etc., is rather the reduced form of *dāti* ('mit Ausstossung des Wurzelvocals', as Grassman supposes) than of *dī-ti* as Macdonell puts it.⁶

§5. What then is the genesis of this rather awkward switch-over from $3\sqrt{dā}$, 'bind', to $1\sqrt{dā}$ 'give' in the matter of the derivation of *dī-ti*? Two independent factors seem to have co-operated to bring about this result (in the view of the writer):—(A) The first is that in two out of the three passages of its occurrence, *dīti* appears in a beneficent and beneficial character, suggestive of $1\sqrt{dā}$ 'give' as its radical element. For example, in VII. 15.12^c, *dīti* is invoked to bestow a desirable or choice (gift) along with other gods like Agni and IV. 2.11^d is an invocation to Agni 'to grant (us) *dīti*.' (B) Another curious circumstance is that in three passages, *Āditi* is supposed to represent 'something not desirable', like 'possession-lessness' or an 'evil being': IV. 2.11; I. 152.6 and X. 87.18. This led Grassman⁷ to assign the second member *dīti* of *āditi* to $1\sqrt{dā}$ as the radical element, in these three passages only, so that the unfavourable aspect of the meaning

6. Vedic Grammar, P. 122, § 148, 1a. 7. Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda,

of the word is suggested by its etymology and this again had natural repercussions in the interpretation and etymology of *diti*!

§6. Let us first examine in detail the three passages mentioned above as constituting the second predisposing factor. (1) X. 87.18^b: *ā vṛścyantām āditaye dūrevāh*; 'may those of evil ways be cut off in the presence of Aditi'. This has an exact counterpart in I. 24.15: "*athā vāyām.....dnāgaso āditaye syāma*: may we be sinless in the presence of Aditi". The two passages only bring out the character of Aditi as the final arbiter of the destinies of the sinless and the sinful and do not imply any particular evil taint in Aditi. Why, in the same verse: X. 87.18^c, it is said of Savitr: "And may Savitr cast them off (to ruin)" and yet one does not attribute an evil taint to Savitr, on that account? (2) IV. 2.11^{cd}: *rāyē ca nāh svapatyāya deva, dītim ca rāsva āditim uruṣya*, "For wealth and noble offspring, O God, grant us Diti and.....Aditi". The vogue of rendering *uruṣya* here by 'keep off' or 'avoid' was probably started by PW,⁸ Grassman⁹ and Müller¹⁰ and followed by Oldenburg¹¹ and even by W. Neisser!¹² Fortunately Geldner¹³ renders it as 'schütze' and that is certainly not inappropriate! The whole trend of the passage shows that the poet who prays for noble offspring would not wish that Aditi, one of whose outstanding characteristics is her mother-hood, should be 'kept off'! The poet is rather expected to pray 'Keep Aditi (for me)'. And 'bewahren' (= 'to keep') is admittedly the more usual meaning of *uruṣya*! Why the rare meaning 'wehren' should be assigned to the word here, is a mystery to be accounted for, only on the supposition that the juxtaposition of Diti and Aditi in this passage was construed as an antithesis and so, if Diti was sought, Aditi (it was presumed) was intended to be 'kept off'! (3) The third passage, I. 152.6^d: *āsā āvivāsan āditim uruṣyet* does not lend support either, to the 'keep-off-Aditi' notion!

8. Petersburger Worterbuch.

9. Wörterbuch zum Rīg-veda.

10. SBE 32, 256.

11. SBE 46, 321.

12. Zum Wörterbuch Des Ṛgveda, 176 (Leipzig, 1924).

13. Der Rīgveda : Übersetzt und Erläutert (1923).

To obviate the suspicion of any bias, the writer would like to quote here Geldner's¹⁴ rendering of it, "Wer mit dem Munde die Aditi gewinnen will, möge seine Schuldlosigkeit wahren". So then, the more frequent meaning 'to take care of', 'to keep free or safe' or 'to preserve' suits both the passages admirably! Even Oldenberg¹⁵ who prefers the sense 'keep off' for *urusya* because of (what he calls) the antithesis of Diti and Aditi in IV. 2.11 admits that the more frequent meaning of the verb (mentioned above) is by no means ruled out. Aditi then, does not betray an evil streak (as it is supposed) in any of these three passages and the explanation of the word '*āditi*' as primarily a noun, meaning 'unbinding' 'bond-lessness' from *dī-ti* 'binding' derived from the root *dā*, 'to bind' holds good in all 'Aditi' passages.

§ 7. As regards the first factor (mentioned in Section § 5), it may be noted, that once the independent divine rank of Diti is recognized as no whit inferior to that of Aditi, once it is seen that the natural basis of Diti (investigated into, below) is actually suggested by the derivation of the name from the root *dā*, 'to bind', there will be no need to assume that the name is connected with the root *dā* 'to give', merely on the ground of the beneficial character of Diti revealed in VIII. 15.12^c and IV. 2.11^d, because, very often in the RV., the deification travels so far from the original (unremembered) conception of its natural basis that it is characterized by indefiniteness of outline and presents features common to all the Gods such as beneficence, brilliance, power, etc. We, therefore, proceed to inquire into the natural basis of Diti by a critical and detailed examination of the only remaining 'Diti' passage, we have yet to discuss and which remarkably enough provides the necessary clues! V. 62.8 reads: *hiraṇya-rūpam uśasaḥ vi-uṣṭau āyaḥ-sthūṇam ūditā sūryasya, ā rohathaḥ varuṇa mitra gārtam ātaḥ cakṣāthe āditim dītim ca.* = "Ye Two, O Varuṇa, O Mitra, mount up to your gold-hued and ore-pillared (*āyaḥ-sthūṇam*) seat (*gārtam*), at the breaking forth of the Dawn, at the rising of the sun and from here (*ātaḥ*) do ye

14. Op. Cit. 15. R̥gveda : Textkritische und exegetische Noten.

observe *āditi* and *diti*” ! This verse will appear in its proper perspective only against the relevant mythological background, namely, that of certain peculiar attributes of Mitra and Varuṇa and we, therefore, describe these first. Varuṇa is often called a king and so are Mitra and Varuṇa called Kings:¹⁶ *rājānau* [II. 41.5; VI. 62.9] or *rājānā* (III. 56.7; X. 64.5). Although other Gods are also designated as ‘Kings’, somehow the epithet *rājānā* is so very characteristic of these two gods that in II. 36.6; V. 65.2; VI. 16.24 and VIII. 101.2, the epithet *rājānā* denotes them, although they are not mentioned ! As ‘kings’, they must have a palace or throne—an elevated seat—and this expectation is duly fulfilled. The hymn VIII. 29 (traditionally regarded as addressed to the Viśvedevas) turns out to be a *collectanea* of riddles in which each stanza characterizes a deity by its peculiar features, without mentioning its name, which is to be guessed ! Now v. 9th of this hymn hints at Mitra and Varuṇa thus : “The Two as Highest have made for themselves a seat (*sādas*) in heaven”. In II. 41.5 we are told that the two kings—Mitra and Varuṇa—seat themselves on the highest seat (*sādasi*) which is firm (*dhruvā*) and which has a thousand (supporting) columns, posts or pillars (*sahasra-sthūṇam*). Incidentally, it may be noted, that this is the same as the *dhruvam sādah*, ‘firm seat’ of Varuṇa mentioned in VIII. 41.9. It is again nothing else but the thousand-column (*sahasra-sthūṇam*) dominion (*kṣatram*) which is but another name for the *sādas* mentioned above and which the Two Kings together graciously sustain (as we are told in V. 62.6). Two other names for this throne are met with in VII. 88.5 which describes the lofty edifice, *mānam* or the thousand-door-house, *sahasra-dvāram gṛham* which Vasiṣṭha had once the privilege of sharing with Varuṇa, in perfect amity. The fifth name for this position is the ‘lofty *gārtam*,’ occupied by them (V. 68.5), in the midst of consecrated foods (V. 62.5). It seems that when they occupy this position of vantage, they attain to their virile might, *iṣīrām dākṣam*

16. Varuṇa and Mitra-Varuṇa are described in the RV for the most part, in identical or similar terms and share a large number of attributes epithets and possessions.

(V. 68.4^b) and become keepers of it : *dhṛta-dakṣā* (V. 62.5^c). The characteristics of the position or seat described thus under different names may be summed up as follows :—

It is the very highest position at the zenith; it is in heaven; it is resplendent (I. 136.3); undamaged and divine (V. 66.2); mighty and stationed among the gods (V. 68.3); firm (II. 41.5); finally it is a thousand-column (V. 62.6; II. 41.5) or thousand-door (VII. 88.5) structure or house.

§ 8. Going back to our verse V. 62.8 now, we find that it adds the very interesting detail *that from that seat Mitra and Varuṇa are able to observe Aditi and Diti simultaneously* ! In all likelihood, then, Aditi and Diti are (*in a physical sense*) the two points or positions exactly opposite to each other and lying on the eastern and western horizons respectively, which Mitra and Varuṇa could survey, only when they occupied their position of vantage at the zenith—the two points on reaching which, the luminaries rise to and disappear from our view : It is only on this hypothesis that we can account satisfactorily for the three predominant characteristics of Aditi : (i) her power of releasing from bondage, (ii) her connection with light and (iii) her motherhood. Macdonell succinctly describes the enigma presented by Aditi when he says,¹⁷ “There is one deity who if rightly interpreted as personification of a pure abstraction.....occupies an anomalous position in the RV. For the name is not limited to the latest portion but occurs throughout the collection. This would be accounted for by the peculiar manner in which the personification came about, supposing the explanation offered below to be correct. Otherwise this deity would have to be classed with abstractions of the epithet type”. Later¹⁸ he reviews the evidence regarding Aditi thus : “A review of the evidence indicates that Aditi has two and only¹⁹ two prominent characteristics. The first is her

17. *Vedic Mythology*, 120.

18. *Op. Cit.*

19. It will be noticed that in the view of the writer, Aditi has three prominent characteristics as stated by the writer above, and not only two, as stated by Macdonell who does not seem to have realized that ‘connection with light’ is an equally prominent (third) characteristic of Aditi, on the evidence of the RV.

mother-hood. She is the mother of a group of gods whose name represents a metronymic formation from hers. Her second main characteristic, in conformity with the etymological meaning of the name is her power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. Mystical speculation on the name would lead to her being styled a cow, as representing boundless plenty, or to her being identified with the boundless earth, heaven or universe. But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea, and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the Ādityas?"

§9. The writer offers the following solution⁵ of this puzzle, on the hypothesis set forth in the previous section (8) regarding the natural or physical basis of Aditi and Diti. Varuṇa, the son of Aditi *par excellence*, is specially connected with R̥ta. Aditi also is connected with R̥ta (cf. VIII. 24.2 etc.). In a paper on *R̥ta in the R̥gveda*,²⁰ the writer has advanced the proposition that (i) as R̥ta enjoys divine status in the R̥V an inquiry into its physical basis is perfectly in order; (ii) that the R̥V has preserved alongside of the well-known secondary meanings of R̥ta (namely, cosmic order, 'Right' and 'Rite' in the cosmic, moral and religious spheres respectively) the primary or physical sense of the word, derived from √r, ('to go') namely '(something) gone over (correctly)' or 'the (settled or ordered) course of going, (never deviated from by the luminaries);' (iii) that there is ample evidence in the R̥V of the physical character of the oft-mentioned path of R̥ta, in the descriptions of it as 'straight', 'easy to traverse', 'dug-out', 'dustless', 'well-laid' etc.; (iv) that indications of the spatial character of the physical R̥ta are numerous in the R̥V in the form of references to its exact location and well-defined configuration in the (R̥gvedic) geometry of the Universe, such for example, as its seat, womb, peak, bottom, cavity, ridge or top-surface, and its two halves (upper and lower); (v) that the R̥V even hints at the wheel-like or belt-like character of

20. Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Rta and that therefore, finally (vi) the physical basis of Rta in the RV is the belt of the Zodiac never deviated from by the luminaries or the *devas*. So then the *devas*, the lights of heaven, appeared to the ancients to recover their freedom from the clutches of darkness and to begin their bright career from a fixed point on the Eastern Horizon, lying on the belt of the Zodiac. *This point was Aditi*. Naturally enough, the *devas* suddenly emerging into freedom from the bonds of darkness, i.e. into light (emerging, in other words, into life itself) from this fixed point namely Aditi (lit. 'unbinding') received the epithet 'sons of Aditi' i.e. sons of 'unbinding' or 'freedom'. Diti was the exactly opposite point of the Western horizon on the belt of the Zodiac, on reaching which the lights went out and entered once more into the bondage (*dī-ti*) of darkness.

We now understand how Diti, in view of her equally important position on the Rta has as strong claim as Aditi has, to the title of 'goddess' and could be invoked to grant what is desirable (VII. 15.12) and could be sought as a gift from Agni (IV. 2.11), although in view of her connection with darkness, she came to be neglected in the apportionment of divine honours. *She is certainly no reflex of Aditi*. The derivation of *dī-ti* from $\sqrt{dā}$ 'to bind' is perfectly in order being connected with its natural basis and need not be switched²¹ on to $\sqrt{dā}$, 'to give' giving Aditi a bad name, quite unnecessarily, in the three passages cited above in section §5.

21. It is by no means improbable that in IV. 2.11 and VIII. 15. 12 ('Give us Diti' and 'may Diti too give us a choice gift' respectively), the RV poets intend a pun (they frequently do) on the word *dī-ti* with an eye on the other possible derivation of it from $\sqrt{dā}$ 'give' though aware that the name was primarily connected with $\sqrt{dā}$ 'bind', which also explains the natural basis of Diti as shown above.

AŚOKA'S EXAMPLES : THEIR FORMATIVE INFLUENCE

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The outstanding example left by Aśoka is the toleration of faiths broad-based on knowledge, comparative study, the power of understanding and appreciation, the exchange of thoughts and ideas, and the principle of hearty co-operation in the matter of helping the growth of all in the essence or fundamental of things. The profession of Buddhism as his personal religion or private faith did not stand in the way of his meeting, waiting upon, honouring, and actively helping all sects and schools of thought. This active form of tolerance was the outcome of his deepest conviction that the moral and 'cultural progress of humanity greatly depended on the enlightenment and earnestness of those who were the real educators of men and women. The wandering ascetics and sophists were allowed even in earlier times to move about freely in the country, from territory to territory, city to city, town to town, village to village. The hermits were left undisturbed to live their religious life in different hermitages. The masses were at liberty to carry on the worship of their divinities through vows, sacrifices and offerings. In monarchies adequate land-endowments were made by the State for the maintenance of the Vedic institutions. Though the principle of toleration was thus followed in practice, Aśoka was the first to enunciate it in definite form to serve as state-policy.

The subsequent history of India goes to show that the toleration of faiths became the guiding principle of the Indo-Aryan society and the traditional policy of the Indian rulers. If Aśoka's exhortation was that "none should be unduly extolling one's own sect and deprecating another sect," the *Great Epic* in its final form came to declare that "neither the praise and deprecation of oneself nor the praise and deprecation of others is the way of the cultured".¹ The latter may

1. *Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 228 f. Cf. Ray-Chaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 6 f.

dictate the policy of non-intervention, of leaving each sect to its own divine business, as the best policy under the comfortable belief that each religion is good if it be followed in its right spirit. Aśoka's scheme of active co-operation was not inconsistent with the general Hindu idea of non-interference. One may detect a sectarian note in the *Gītās* containing the philosophic foundation of what is now known as Hinduism. But in reality the teaching imparted through each of them is a confidential one (*guhya*), meaning to initiate an earnest seeker of the truth into the secret of the *yoga* method. Whether this teaching be imparted in the name of any form of Bhāgavatism, Viṣṇu, Śiva, or Śakti, it is in substance all the same. The same teaching is conveyed in a similar form in the later-day Buddhism which, too, became a form of Bhāgavatism. It is not correct, therefore, to say with Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 'Hence-forth Bhāgavatism, or as it may now be called by its more popular name, Vaiṣṇavism, formed with Śaivism, the main plank of the orthodox religion in its contest with Buddhism'. The fact of the case is that all the religions of India assumed outwardly a Bhāgavatic form, while inwardly they cherished the *Guruvāda* and professed to be a secret method of *yoga*. Thus the plank for all was the same, and the contest, if there were any was a many-sided one, and beneath all was a grand synthesis of ideas and methods; "all jackals cried alike" as Rāmakṛṣṇa would have put it.

It is true that the Brahmanistic idea of military campaigns consummated by horse-sacrifice or *rājasūya* durbar gained ground again in the country. Even the mind of the Jaina king Khāravela was pre-occupied with it. But the admission of this as a fact does not mean the denial of the formative influence of Aśoka's example of religious toleration. The inscription of Khāravela boldly records that his strong Jaina faith was no bar to his pride as a ruler who honoured all sects and helped the people to repair all Deva-temples (*sava-pāsāṃdāpajaka, sava-devāyatana-samkhāra-kāraṇa*). During the reign of the Śūngas and their successors, and in their dominions, the outer stone-railing and gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa of Bharhut and the earlier stone-railing of

Bodhgayā were erected partly on donations from the queen of their royal houses. Although king Virapuruṣadatta was a performer of the horse-sacrifice, the queens and princesses of his royal house prominently figured as female donors of the great Buddhist foundation at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Although the Imperial Guptas were devout Vaiṣṇavas or Śaivas, they are known to have donated several Buddhist foundations, including the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā. In spite of the strong Buddhist faith of the Pālas of Eastern India, their queens engaged the Brāhmins to read out to them the text of the *Great Epic*. The Buddhist king Asokavalla of Sapādalakṣa liberally helped his Śaiva subjects to repair their temple. The Jaina *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* recommends a system of education, in which due provision is made for the study of the Sanskrit epic. It was in the time of Samudragupta and with his kind permission that his Ceylon contemporary, the king Kitti-Siri-Meghavanna, erected the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma at Bodhgayā for the monks from Ceylon. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang has recorded two instances of royal tolerance, each of which is greatly significant in its own way. In one, he has paid his warm compliment to king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa for his great veneration for all men noted for their erudition and wisdom, irrespective of their caste, creed or community, and in the other, he has paid a glowing tribute to Harṣa, the liberal-minded Śaiva ruler of Kanauj. The annual gathering of the men of all sects and schools of thought under the liberal patronage of Harṣa was undoubtedly an earlier step which ultimately led to the triennial Kumbhamelā of modern times.

It may be noted that the toleration equally guided the state-policy of the Paṭhān ruler Sher Shah, the great Marāṭhā leader Śivāji and Jain-ul-Abidin, the Sultan of Kāshmīr. Among the Muslim rulers of India, the name of Akbar ranks foremost as the propounder of the principle of universal toleration in the name of *Sulh-i-kul*, inviting the exponents of all religions to meet in his Ibādatkhānā for a frank and friendly discussion of the fundamentals of religion. Even he went so far as to think of founding on this very

principle a new religion called *Din-Ilāhī*, which unfortunately died with him. It is to be regretted that the liberal policy pursued by previous generations of men is followed by a narrow policy, as exemplified by the Brahmanist's sectarian reaction against the progressive ideas of the earlier age and Aurangazib's intolerance as expressed in his policy of *Dār-ul-Islām*. This is not, however, to say that the tradition of tolerance ceased to continue in India. Its continuity may be traced in the eclecticism of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen and Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa. One may legitimately claim that the whole of the theosophical movement is inspired by the same spirit of toleration which has guided also the course of the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago, and similar conferences and conventions held thereafter in India and England. It is pertinent also to note that the Aśoka principle of toleration was in the background of the political wisdom in the *Arthaśāstra* of Viṣṇugupta-Kauṭilya advising the king in the rôle of a conqueror to respect the religions and national institutions of the conquered country. The Rosetta Stone Inscription of Ptolemaios may be regarded as the outcome of the very same principle. So far as the history of Ceylon is concerned, the Pali *Chronicles* narrate that the Buddhist monarchs of the island ungrudgingly allowed the Brāhmaṇas, Brahmanical ascetics, Ājīvikas, and Jainas to enjoy their respective privileges through twenty-one reigns and² subsequently.

Aśoka's programme of piety must have served as a great incentive to the works of public utility comprehended by the Brahmanical term *iṣṭāpūrtam*. It included arrangements for two kinds of treatment, one suitable for men and the other for domestic animals, by way of supplying and planting the medicinal herbs, roots and fruits where these were not available (R. E. II).³ It included also the planting of shade-trees on the roads, the laying out of fruit-gardens, the sinking of wells, the excavation of tanks, the construction of watering and resting places, the putting up of charity halls, and the like for the sake of men and animals (R. E. II, Queen's Edict

2. *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 109-111; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 63.,

3. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 63-64, speaks of four classes of physicians.

P. E. VII). The works included in the second list are expressly mentioned as those which were done by the former rulers of India for providing men and animals with comforts; Asóka too, did them just to keep up the time-honoured tradition of piety, which is to say, not out of the consideration that they in themselves were of much intrinsic value as means of elevating human nature (P. E. VII).

As regards the works mentioned in the first list, these were accomplished not only in Asóka's own dominions but also in the neighbouring territories. When this statement is taken along with that in R. E XIII, we find that Asóka spoke of two allied missions, medical or humanitarian and educational or cultural.

It may not be quite reasonable to infer from his statement in R. E. II—"arrangements are made for two kinds of treatment" that he was the founder of hospitals in their modern technical sense.⁴ The evidence of the *Great Epic* and *Arthasāstra*, too, does not go to prove the existence of hospitals as public institutions.⁵ But certain it is that Asóka gave for the first time a public character to the systems of treatment, which ultimately led to the founding of hospitals in India, say, in the time of the early Gupta emperors.⁶ The *Chronicles* of Ceylon freely speak of the hospitals and maternity-homes founded in the island by its noble rulers, who emulated evidently the fame of Asóka.

The Buddha was in complete agreement with the earlier religious teachers when he stressed the importance of such works of public utility as the laying-out of parks and flower and fruit gardens, the planting of shade-trees, the sinking of

4. The point is fully discussed in *Inscriptions of Asoka, II, Appendix*.

5. Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, pp. 259-60.

6. This fact is clearly borne out by the earlier Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien who observes : "The heads of the Vaiśya families establish houses for dispensing charities and medicines. All the poor and destitutes in the country, ... and all who are diseased go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help and doctors. They examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require; and when they are made to feel at ease, and when they are better, they go away of themselves." James Legge, *Trans.* p. 79.

wells, the excavation of tanks, the construction of watering and resting places, and the like on the part of the noble-minded and virtuous householders. The performance of these meritorious deeds was popularly believed to be the means of going to heaven.⁷ Both the edicts of Aśoka (R. E. II, R. E. III) and Buddhaghosa's *Commentary* on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* attest that when this was made a part of the state-business, the high officials were required to carry it out along with their usual administrative duties during *anusamyāna*, meaning tours of inspection. The importance of the works of public utility mentioned by Buddha and Aśoka continued to be emphasized in the religious and popular literature of India. The state and the citizens co-operated throughout in the matter, and the tradition of piety was fully maintained also under the Muslim rule. As a necessary part of the civic duty, the British government, too, has fostered it all along. Here Aśoka is fully justified in stating that the public works as monumental acts of piety (*dhamma-tharimbhāni*) formed the time-honoured tradition of the former rulers of India who had reigned in the long past and during many hundred years. Clear traces of them are abundant even in the remains of the Indus Valley civilization. The continuity of the tradition is proved by the recorded benefactions of several kings, both pre-Aśokan and post-Aśokan, notably those mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela and the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman I.

The Brahmanical creed of *iṣṭāpūrtam* consisted also in the practice of charity and hospitality and the performance of Vedic sacrifices, rites and rituals. As for the sacrifices, Aśoka's opinion went against the performance of those which involved the slaughter of animal life and were accompanied by the convivial social gatherings and musical and other entertainments fraught with moral danger and risk (R. E. I). This opinion which was in accord with the Buddha's view of life has been upheld in later religious literature of India, notably in the *Bhagavad Gītā* in which the pursuit of knowledge (*jñāna-maya yajña*) is preferred to all other forms of sacrifice or

7. *Samyutta*, I, p. 33.

pursuits of life. Barring certain primitive religions, and Śāktism, Judaism and Islam among higher religions, there is no other religion in which the precincts of the temple of worship or the hall of prayer are besmeared with the blood of the animal victims of sacrifice. The *Great Epic* story of king Rantideva's killing of two thousand cattle every day for the sake of his proverbial hospitality during the Indian lent came to be divested of its cruel aspect in its later narration in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The evidence of the *Skanda Purāṇa* goes to prove that a Neo-Vaiṣṇava form of Bhāgavatism was successfully upheld in the country of Chola by Viṣṇudāsa in the third or fourth century A. D. as against the pompous and costly Epic Vaiṣṇavism abounding in acts of sacrificial slaughter of life, slaughter in the name of hospitality, social entertainment and worldly popularity.

The convivial gatherings and musical and other entertainments offended the moral consciousness or pricked the conscience of Aśoka in so far as these were indulged in the name of religion and they ran moral risks. His cool judgment led him, however, to recognize the purely æsthetic and educative value of some of them, and to say that there were *samājas* and *samājas*, that some of them were of such nature and form that they might be approved of as good, while most of them were objectionable and faulty. There is no denying the fact that in making an exception to the general rule, Aśoka distinctly kept in his view the popular religious demonstration of the acts of piety, virtue and merit through the visual representation of the joyous and vivacious life of the gods in different kinds of heaven, all anthropomorphic in their origin and conception. This demonstration marked the consummation of all ceremonial and artistic preparations for a grand religious festival designed to call forth and to call into play all the higher emotions and spiritual elations at the sight of the processional march of all things and beings regarded as holy and divine in the care-worn and otherwise dull and monotonous world of common mortals.

The question still is—Did this form of popular religious festival bearing all the above features exist before Aśoka or

was it introduced on the 'faultful' socio-religious gatherings of earlier times? This important issue arises on the new ground now gained after the agreed abandonment of the old ground of discussion which rested on the correctness of Vincent Smith's interpretation of Aśoka's statement—*bherī-ghoso aho dhammaghoso* (R.E. IV)—as meaning "the reverberation of the war-drums has become the reverberation of the law". Mr. C. D. Chatterjee, Reader in Indian History, Lucknow University, stands for the Aśokan novelty of the thing used as means of promoting the cause of piety and elevating human nature, while I myself claim its pre-Aśokan popularity. The main clause of Aśoka's statement in R.E. IV is: "But to-day by the King's practice of piety his sound of the (festival) drum has become the sound of the (doctrinal) instruction", and the subsidiary or explanatory clause is that that which could not be achieved in the past, during many hundred years, by the festival method was achieved in his time by his instructional method. Chatterjee drives a third wedge into the argument by his possessive construction of Aśoka's statement—*Asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā Devānampiyasa*, forgetting the fact that in such a literary idiom as this the instrumental construction of the sixth case is unavoidable—"There are, however, certain social gatherings deemed good by the Beloved of the gods," i. e., "good in the estimation of the king". To accept Chatterjee's view is to assume that all the previous *samājas* of India were full of faults in Aśoka's eye, which is irreconcilable with Piyadasi's frank admission that former kings, too, sincerely desired to see the people grow sufficiently with their growth in piety (P.E. VII). All that is claimed by Aśoka in both the Edicts (R.E. IV, P.E. VII) is the greater effectiveness of his instructional method (*dhammānusāhi*). That Aśoka's word *dhammaghosa* (sound of the doctrine) connoted nothing more nor less than his instructional method is equally evident from the duty assigned in the *Dhammapada Commentary* to *dhammaghosa* functioning as a human agent for the announcement or proclamation of the principles of piety. The Pal narrative clearly explains why the services of elephant-riders

elephant-trainers, horse-riders, chariot-masters, and Brāhman teachers were in requisition in the matter of Āśoka's public proclamation of piety (M.R.E., Ye). If any historical fact can be elicited from the Pali Canonical description of the pompous chariot-drive to the Nandana Grove,⁸ it is that the processional chariot-drive of the king of the gods had formed a distinct feature of the Indra-festival (*Indra-maha*). The sequel contains indeed an allegorical description of the illuminating *dharmayātrā* as a Buddhist substitute for the infatuating *ratha-yātrā* of Indra and other popular gods,—the *vimāna-dasanā* of Āśoka's R. E. IV along with other displays of divine forms. Chatterjee's opinion would have been quite appropriate if it were directed to the popular Buddhist method, or even to the Buddhist description of Āśoka's *dharmayātrā* to the sacred spot of the Bo-tree.

As for the Edicts of Āśoka, no such fact can be gleaned from them. His own description of the *dharmayātrā* (pilgrimage) to Sambodhi (R.E. VIII) goes to create altogether a different impression. It may nevertheless be conceded to Chatterjee that although the effectiveness of the festival method was underrated by Āśoka, he, too, followed it in practice as a means of magnifying the glory of his Buddhist faith. The relic-processions, each led by a royal personage, are depicted unmistakably in the coping of the Bharhut railing, precisely as on the Sāñchi gateways. The Tooth-relic procession of Ceylon has been an annual festive affair with the Buddhists of the island from the reign of Kitti-Siri-Meghavanna (A.D. 362-89). An eye-witness to this was Fa-Hien⁹ who noticed a similar Buddhist religious festival and procession also in India.¹⁰ Some such things are associated with all Hindu and Jaina idols; the car-procession of Jagannāth of Puri and that of Pārsvanāth in Calcutta are well-known. Mr. Chatterjee has sought to bank on the Buddhist *Vimāna*-stories. But it may be pointed out that the physical appearance of the various gods and goddesses in their respective

8. *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 33; Barua and Mitra, *Prakrit Dhammapada*, Mahavega.

9. Leggl, *Fa-Hien*, p. 105.

10. *Ibid*, p. 79.

vimānas or chariots are not dissociated from "the sound of the drum" which is symbolical of vocal and instrumental music added to dancing, acting, and other jovialities.

The shaping influence of Aśoka's example is clearly perceivable also in the process of development of the purely religious architecture of India and Asia. The remains of the two buried cities of the Indus Valley hitherto exposed to view comprise residential buildings, public baths and a few sepulchral structures, and nothing that might be taken for a sanctuary or temple. The Vedic Aryans were acquainted with the grandeur of palace architecture, the tombs of the warrior heroes, and the simple structure of their fire-altars. Even the two magnificent cities of Persepolis and Pasargadae built by the genius of the powerful Achæmenian emperors of Persia abound in palaces and sepulchral structures, and assign just a minor place to the fire-altars from the point of view of architecture. There is a good literary evidence to prove that the city architecture of Ancient India included the abodes (*vatthuni*)¹¹ or temples of the gods (*devāyatanāni*)¹². The inscription of Khāravela testifies to the existence of such temples in the country of Kaliṅga. Their existence all over India was noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang in the second half of the seventh century after Christ. But of what kind and shape were those age-old popular shrines or temples?

We find that each city or town had a *yakṣa* shrine at each of its four main entrances and one in its centre. These ancient shrines of the guardian demi-gods are represented in the sculpture of Bharhut as tree-shrine with some sort of a terrace at their foot. It seems very likely that the terrace itself served as the pedestal for a standing statue of the presiding deity. It is not unlikely that in certain instances the statue was placed inside a crude type of structure or beneath a structural canopy or shed.¹³ The same as to the shrine of the

11. *Dīgha*, II, p. 87,

12. Hathigumpha Inscription.

13. The Pali *Nikāyas* speak of a *ṭaṃkita-mañcha* (Ṭap-shaped or farmer's watch-tower-like structure) as the shrine of the demi-god Ajakāla. *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 206; *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I, p. 232. The Jaina *Antagaḍadasāo* refers to the temple of the Yakṣa Mudgarapāṇi which was the ancestral shrine of a rich gardener's family.

Nāgas and other dreaded, benevolent or malevolent gods and demi-gods, goddesses and demi-goddesses. In the case of tree-shrines, the personality of the tree over-shadowed the structural element, the crude product of human skill. The natural objects were mostly totems. The *stūpas* erected in earlier times as round-shaped mounds passed as sepulchral structures without any artistic importance of their own. Accidentally at the Buddhist hands they acquired a symbolical character and meaning. The hermitages built by the sages as ideal religious and cultural homes in the wood in the midst of delightful natural surroundings had nothing but a leaf-hut or straw-thatched cottage to show in the centre. When these were succeeded by the Buddhist *vihāras* or *ārāmas* as the ideal seats of learning, the leaf-hut was sought to be replaced by a grand mansion-like edifice ideally conceived. Even this, in so far as its purpose goes, *had* a residential construction, something palatial in its conception. As borne out alike by the evidence of early Indian literature and by that of early Indian sculpture, the palace architecture of India had for its heavenly prototype Indra's Palace of Victory (*Vaijayanta-prāsāda*) with the circular and pillared Council-hall provided with a domeshaped roof. Each city had for its artistic landmark a strong and tall wooden pillar firmly posted in the ground at the main gate.

So long as Indian craftsmanship was guided by a purely imitation theory of art (*devaśilpānām anukṛtiḥ*), it was able to produce nothing better than dolls, toy elephants, toy horses, and toy carts.¹⁴ The same remark holds true of the terra-cotta examples from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Even the tree, animal and other representations on the Indus seals appear to have been based upon the same imitation theory of art in spite of the vigour and virility of their expression. The play of symbolism and expressionism is noticeable in the statuary art of the Indus Valley, but it is yet far from reaching up a high standard of art considered as a tangible expression of sublime human thought and refined imagination.

14. *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI, I.

Since Buddha propounded his idealistic theory of art, claiming a work of art as the actualisation of an idea conceived in the mind,¹⁵ and the ideal of the Universal Monarch actively functioning under, within and for the sake of the impersonal imperium of the Dharma, Aśoka appeared in India as the first emperor to proceed with his direct personal experience, deep conviction, energy, method and means to give effect to both. Though in Buddha's opinion the Universal Monarch and the Tathāgata were entitled as human personalities to one and the same kind of funeral and sepulchral honours, the former as an earthly personality faded away before the latter as a divine or religious personality.¹⁶ It was no longer the case of the Brāhmaṇa scholars approaching the reigning monarchs as the seekers of truth for the sake of higher knowledge. In the altered position the reigning monarchs began to bend their heads low in obeisance to the supreme religious personality of a Master and it was they who humbly approached the latter for enlightenment, consolation and guidance. Aśoka, too, caused to be built in the heart of Pāṭaliputra a magnificent royal palace, which astonished the earlier Chinese pilgrim as a piece of work done by the spirits employed, and not by human beings.¹⁷ But Aśoka did not labour under the selfful creative ideology of the Mughal Pādshāh Shāh-jāhān to leave behind an inscription, claiming, "If there be a paradise on earth, here it is, here it is!" His was not the imperialistic boast and self-conscious mundane glory of Darius and Xerxes that are manifest in their palace and sepulchral architectures, and in all of their sculptures and decorative designs. All the available examples of their art and architecture bear clear traces of the legacy of the art-tradition of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Chaldeans. Nor was the spirit of Aśoka the spirit of the Pharaohs of Egypt pining for the continuance of their physical existences through the embalmed mummies inside masked coffins in the protected chamber of the tent-shaped pyramids; nor was

15. *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 151; *Atthasālinī*, p. 64.

16. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 118-123. 17. Legge, *op-cit.*, p. 77.

it the spirit of the Scythian and Ahom rulers desiring to be attended in the other world by their queens, servants, horses and elephants buried alive with their corpses in vaulted sepulchres. Here is an enlightened ruler, rational, human and earnest in all his being, in whose own mental attitude "he was not the master of the land but just a servant of it, not the creditor but just a debtor in his best endeavour for fulfilling his obligations". In that spirit, indeed, he caused the rock-cut caves to be made, the *aharmarājikās* or *stūpas* to be built with the stone-pillars or monoliths as their ensigns. Similar ensigns were put up also to mark off the sacred spots visited and honoured by him in course of his pilgrimage. He wanted all of his palace and family, all of his relations, officers and subjects—all including himself, to work towards the same end (R. E. V), each individual being the full credit for his or her benefactions (Queen's Edict).

The way thus shown and the example set were greatly effective. The subsequent history of India amply shows that the different religious foundations, including educational and charitable institutions and religious shrines, were as much the products of individual charities as of co-operative or joint efforts and sacrifices. The very same phenomenon is noticeable in the post-Asókan history of Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, China, Tibet, Central Asia, Korea and Japan, and other countries of Asia that came within the sphere of India's cultural influence. One may mention the activities of king Khāravēla as an instance in point. Khāravēla started his kingly career by thoroughly repairing his capital city. He caused a great royal palace to be built at the cost of thirty-eight lakhs. He did all within his power to please his subjects. The excavation of the Orissan caves was the joint work of himself, his queens, sons, officers, and others. His greatest achievement in the annals of religious architecture was the magnificent temple which was erected at the cost of seventy-five lakhs and which seems to have stood as the prototype of all later temples of Orissa. The result, on the whole, is that each country has come to have a religious edifice, whether a *stūpa* or temple with its towering height and tapering head,

for its outstanding landmark; it has overshadowed the tree-shrine of old. It has at the same time surpassed the palace and sepulchral architectures by its art and spiritual appeal. In other words, humanity has triumphed over external nature, extolled by the ancients as the work of divine artmanship (*devāsīlpa*), and spirituality over earthly human personality.

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RULES OF WARFARE IN EPIC INDIA

By PROF. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

The people of whom the Indian epics (the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) speak were mainly Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas. In the Rāmāyaṇa, no doubt, we find monkeys and Rākṣasas occupying very prominent places. But they too, were of a fighting race whether human or otherwise. And in the Mahābhārata, the chief figures are all Kṣatriyas. The Brāhmaṇas are there in both the epics occupying a peculiar position : They take little active part in the events of the stories; but nevertheless, by their advice and instruction, by their ability to form organisations and groups, by their spiritual pre-eminence, by their diplomacy and sometimes even by their intrigues, they wield a considerable influence on these events. As we go through the narrations, it seems that the whole population of the country consisted mainly of these two important castes. Other castes were no doubt there, but they little affected the life of the country : they quietly pursued their inferior avocations and lived a life of perpetual subordination and had few opportunities or abilities to make their existence felt in the public and political life of the country or to thrust themselves upon the great historical events.

The country itself was divided between cities and hamlets and the population into two main sections—urban and rural. And the urbans were mainly the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins were mainly rural. As between these two divisions and sections, the whole web of the epics is woven. These two higher castes intermingle freely and influence their lives immensely. But nevertheless two slightly different ideals are kept alive—the Kṣatriya or martial ideal and the Brahminical or spiritual ideal. Sometimes there was a blending of these ideals; and sometimes we find even conflicts between them. For instance, Kṣatriyas and Kings who were more war-like than the Brahmins were prepared to tolerate—who, i. e., were aggressive and assertive and disrespectful towards Brahminical rights and privileges, were, naturally enough, violently opposed by the Brahmins. Such a Kṣatriya, it seems, was Duryodhana,

the King of Hastināpura. On the other hand, a Kṣatriya who was milder in temperament and more respectful towards the Brahmins easily found powerful support among members of that class. Such, it seems, was Yudhiṣṭhira. Sometimes we meet also with clashes between the two castes, e. g. in the story of Paraśurāma. On the whole, however, it seems that the two classes acted more in unison than in division. We may remember the story of Rāma going out to defend the Brahmins, under Viśvāmitra. Ultimately, therefore, the difference between the moral ideals of the two classes was not so sharp as might be imagined at first sight. On the other hand, though a conflict of ideals is easily detectable in various descriptions of the heroes of the epics, still the ideal that survives is a common ideal for all. This ideal is typified in Yudhiṣṭhira in the Mahābhārata and Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa.

But as the military classes dominated the political life of the country—and also its social life—and as wars were frequent enough—it was but natural that ideas of right and wrong in war had to be frequently canvassed. And even in those wars, the more spiritually minded section of the population, viz. the Brahmins, were also profoundly interested and sometimes even took active part; so it was to be expected that these ideas underwent a process of softening and liberalisation. They were much more humane than was possible elsewhere in similar circumstances. The epic mind was very critical of war events and their propriety. Ideas of fairness were very much advanced—and in some respects they were as high as even the modern mind can conceive.

War always means killing of men by men; but the difference between civilised and savage warfare lies in the method and the extent to which this killing is allowed to go. In war, sufferings are inevitable : but difference between one kind of war and another lies in the extent of this suffering. Damage to property and capture of the enemy are also necessary consequences of war : but in them, too, differences are possible as between civilised people and savages. When a people with advanced moral ideas goes to war, it will inflict on the enemy, minimum loss of life, minimum suffering and minimum damage

to property. For instance, among savages, mutilation of the dead bodies of the enemy is quite an ordinary affair. We do not expect it among civilised people. Cannibals would even eat up the dead bodies of the enemy; but in a civilised war, we expect a decent disposal of the dead bodies, no matter whether they were enemies or not. If we consider the battles of the epics, with these differences in our mind, we shall probably find that their wars were quite as civilised as ours. Not that violent passion could not be roused in their breasts nor even that they could not occasionally go to savage lengths in the infliction of death and sufferings to their enemies, but the general ideas of fairness were against such excesses and enlightened public opinion of the time would even condemn them.

(a) *Women and Children in war :*

In modern warfare, women and children are regarded as non-combatants and they are not made war-prisoners. In epic India, however, we find that women were regarded as legitimate war-booty. When an enemy was defeated, there was nothing wrong in capturing his women-folk. What exactly became of them after such capture, is not difficult to imagine, though we have not always any explicit information as to their fate. Not only could women be made captives after a war, but when enmity existed between two individuals, families or tribes, it was considered perfectly legitimate for one to kidnap and forcibly take away the women of the other. This was obviously part of the very general law of capture, according to which capture was one of the most honourable means—for a Kṣatriya at least—of securing a wife. If capture of women was not reprehensible in peace, there was no earthly reason why it should be so in war. And it is no wonder, therefore, that we find even the wives of relatives being captured in this way. Thus in Mbh iii. 266, we find Jayadratha, a relative of Yudhiṣṭhira but inimical to him because of his quarrel with Duryodhana, trying to forcibly take away Draupadī, wife of Yudhiṣṭhira. As to the general capture of women of the enemy, we have examples in iii. 241 where Duryodhana's women were captured by a Gandharva and also in xvi. 7.*

* The references are to the Calcutta (Vangavāsī) edition of the Mahābhārata.

But although women were legitimate war-booty, it was considered undignified to strike a woman. Not that women could never be struck : if she were an aggressor, it is hardly believable that she would be allowed to carry death to her enemies unhindered by them. It seems, however, that owing to the rigidity of caste-ideas and ideas of duties, it would hardly be permissible to a woman to take to arms at all. Public opinion would certainly not encourage it, even if it were tolerated at all. So we have not many instances of a woman aggressor. But when a woman was an assailant, she was dealt with in the same manner as a man, only with less hardship, if possible. Thus in Rāmāyaṇa iii. 18., we have Sūrpanakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa, attacking Rāma's wife. The attack was repulsed and that woman's ears and nose were cut off. But at the same time in iii. 34. 11, we are told that this aggressive woman was not killed forthwith because she was a woman and killing a woman was a sin, even in war, it seems. So her life was spared.

As a rule, therefore, a woman's life would not be taken if it could be spared. But other physical injuries would be inflicted on her if she happened to be the aggressor. This appears to have been the general rule. But there were those whose respect for woman-kind—or was it compassion and pity—went higher : and such men would not soil their hands by striking a woman, even when she happened to be the assailant. The underlying principle of honourable warfare was that it must be between equals. In single battles, it was insisted on more systematically—so much so, that the combatants in a single combat were expected to fight with exactly the same weapon and under the same conditions. Now, that being the principle, and it being generally believed that a woman was always unequal to a man, no high-souled warrior would ever stoop so low as to strike a woman under any condition whatsoever. That was not all. A neuter or a eunuch or a hermaphrodite was not man enough. He was, so it was thought, nearer a woman than a man. He, too, therefore, was beneath attack by a self-respecting warrior. A gr̥eat warrior, a noble Kṣatriya who had confidence in his arms—would not condescend to fight

with a woman or with such a half-man. Such a warrior was the great Bhīṣma. In Mahābhārata we find him refusing to use his arms against Śikhaṇḍī, because, according to a current story, which he believed, Śikhaṇḍī was a hermaphrodite and thus was not masculine enough to deserve battle with him. Whether this attitude was complimentary to the fair sex or not, is a different question. Such a question is involved in all the abundant praise that has been showered upon chivalry. The 'new woman' of our age would probably resent such attitude towards her as implying an inferiority in her. But that is a different story. Respect for women is still a laudable virtue; and that virtue, so far as war was concerned—was developed in Epic India.

As to children, we have not got any clear instance of their direct connection with any war. But it is obvious that children are physically incapable of participating in a battle: and the moral sense even of epic times would be shocked if children were slaughtered in war. In Mahābhārata X. 5 and 6, and also in other places, we have rules of honourable warfare enunciated. We are told, for instance, in X. 5. 11. *et seq.* that men in sleep, men without arms and riders without horse, men who have surrendered, etc. should not be attacked. Again, in X. 6., 21., we are told that no weapons should be employed against cows, Brahmins, women, etc. There is no specific mention of children in these lists. But the lists are only indicative and by no means exhaustive. Besides there are terms in the lists which may well cover children also, e. g. those in fright should not be attacked, we are told. This may easily include children. Mbh. V. 36. 66. says:—"Brahmins, cows, kinsmen, infants, and women and those whose bread one has eaten and also those who have surrendered, may not be killed." *

But from the general tendency of these permissions and prohibitions in war, it is clear that age in itself was not a necessary factor for consideration. A vigorous young man

* "Avadhyā brāhmaṇā gāvo jñātayaḥ śiśavaḥ striyaḥ ;
yeṣāṃ cānnāni bhuñjīta ye ca syuḥ śaraṇāgataḥ".

who showed fight certainly deserved it, though a trembling adult would rightly be regarded as beneath attack. The only persons who would be entirely excluded from the arena of war on account of age were infants—i.e., those who could not possibly wield arms and understand their significance. All others, irrespective of age, were legitimate targets of attack, provided always of course that they were combatants. In fact, we have instances of men of all ages actively participating in the battle of Kurukṣetra. There children's children were fighting against their grandfathers.

This then was the general rule about the position of women and children in war. It is confirmed by the most glaring exception recorded in Mahābhārata X. In that chapter we are given a horrid description of the havoc done to the camp of the Pāṇḍavas in a night attack by Aśvatthāmā, a warrior of Duryodhana's party. It was a night attack—attack on persons in sleep. That itself was a wrong. Then, again, it was an attack on unarmed persons—another wrong. Besides it was an attack on a crowd which included women (Mahābhārata X.8. 23 and 30) and must have also included children. The attack is not justified. It was admittedly against the accepted principles of warfare (X. 5. 18). It was planned and conceived in despair and carried out in a fit of anger. The hermaphrodite, Śikhaṇḍī, whom Bhīṣma would not strike even when he was attacking him, was killed without warning and in an unarmed state in the course of this attack. And it is conceivable that in an indiscriminate slaughter like this, children also must have been butchered. But this exception only confirms the rule.

(b) *Who were combatants?*

This leads us to the question; who were combatants in a war? i.e. against whom was a war legitimate? Who could be fought against and who could be made to suffer from the exigencies of war—be wounded, maimed and killed?—against whom could arms be used? The obvious and most natural answer would be that those who fight may be fought against. This was true in epic India also, but only in a limited degree.

For, although an enemy could always be restrained, it was considered unchivalrous to inflict death on all enemies. If a woman were an assailant, surely her powers of mischief must be curtailed. She could be maimed and mutilated, as Sūrpaṅkhā was. But to *kill* a woman;—well, that was a sin. Similarly to kill a Brahmin enemy was regarded as a sin. Not that Brahmins were not killed :—Droṇa and several others were Brahmins and were killed in the great battle. That was because they had waived the prerogative of a Brahmin by taking to the profession of arms which was a Kṣatriya's occupation. But otherwise, ordinarily, a Brahmin was not to be killed in war.

So was a woman. We have some recorded instances of a woman being an assailant in single combat, at least, but in all those cases we are reminded that it was wrong to kill a woman (*vide ante*, the case of Sūrpaṅkhā). And as resembling a woman, a hermaphrodite or a eunuch also was considered unworthy of death at a notable warrior's hands e.g. the case of Śikhaṇḍī. So were children to be considered non-combatants as a rule.

But the most important rule in this connection was that when an enemy laid down his arms and sought shelter, even though it might be for the time being, without necessarily surrendering himself and without declaring cessation of enmity, he was not to be treated as an enemy. He was not to be molested, certainly not to be killed, even though he might be one's deadliest enemy. On the other hand, he was to be given all protection against his other enemies and was to be helped in other possible ways. This must be regarded as a magnificent idea of chivalry. An enemy was an enemy—a combatant—only so long as he was armed against you and had declared his enmity towards you. And he ceased to be a combatant the moment he laid down his arms or said that he was not fighting you. For this plain reason, when your enemy goes to sleep you cannot fight without waking him up and if your enemy has no weapon with him, you cannot honestly attack him until he is armed and armed *like you*. The point of honour was that not only should your enemy be armed but he must be armed

exactly like you. To have any special advantages in military equipment against one's enemy and then to fight him, was considered unfair warfare.

Of course, exceptions were there. But according to the generally prevalent ideas of honourable warfare, combatants were only those who were equals—in sex, in age, in caste and in military equipment. Any differences in any of these particulars would tend to make the fight unfair. For men to fight against women, for war-proof adults to take up arms against inexperienced and inapt youths or boys, for a Kṣatriya to battle against a member of the other castes and for one fully accoutred to challenge to battle an enemy without sufficient equipments,—all these would be regarded as unfair warfare. These would be regarded almost as fighting a non-combatant.

(c) *Points of honour in war :*

The Kṣatriyas about whom we are speaking had a highly developed sense of honour in war. Whatever other defects they might have in their moral habits, their war morality does not appear to be at all defective for people of their time...and might even compare favourably with the latest developments in our war-ideas. It is even permissible to say that in some respects their war morality was superior to ours of the present age. Of course, in saying this we should not forget the great and important changes that have taken place in methods of warfare since then. Without going into technical details of the military science, we may just note some facts which are relevant for our purpose. In the first place, in modern warfare, the combatants seldom come to close quarters. Thanks to the great range of modern weapons, an enemy can be hit from a long distance. This means that one can never be sure as to the part of the body where he hits his enemy. Another important factor of modern war is the mass attack. We do not have single combats between great military leaders now. There is no man to man fight. But what happens today is that a disciplined and organised mass of men are mobilised together and set upon another similar mass. In such attacks,

obviously, no one knows who hits whom and in which part of the body. In bayonet charges or cavalry charges, this is exactly what takes place.

But in ancient times, in the times of which we are speaking, a battle always took place at very close quarters, always within talking distance. It had to be so, because the range of the weapons used was very small. We almost always find the combatants talking to each other, using provoking and abusive language, and calling upon their rival to surrender on pain of death, before the weapons are hurled. And although each leader was guarded by a host of soldiers, these leaders would always try to come to grips with each other, while their attendants were fighting among themselves. This nature of war resulted almost invariably in a single combat between one military leader of one party and another of the other party. This is so amply illustrated in the great war of the Mahābhārata, that examples are hardly necessary. Thus Bhīma killed Duṣśāsana, Arjuna killed Droṇa and Bhīṣma, in a man-to-man fight. While the fact that Abhimanyu was killed by several people attacking him at the same time, has been severely condemned.

These differences in the conditions of warfare would necessarily imply some differences in moral valuation also. For instance, in modern war there is no point in insisting that striking below the belt is wrong, when you have to strike your enemy from a distance of a mile with a rifle bullet. Modern warfare thus exonerates conduct which was reprehensible to the ancients. But in spite of these differences, it will appear that the people of whom we are speaking had a high sense of honour in war. And in some cases they behaved better than the moderns in similar circumstances. Let us now consider some specific points. For this purpose we have to refer to some of the more significant duels and battles.

(i) In Mbh. ii. 25., we have an interesting incident—the killing of Jarāsandha, King of Magadha. He, we are told, was a powerful King who had subdued and captured many of the neighbouring kings. It was part of Yudhiṣṭhira's policy as

directed by Kṛṣṇa to kill this man and release all his captive kings. These would naturally become allies of Yudhiṣṭhira, who would then be in a position to carry out his plan of Rājasūya.

Now this King Jarāsandha commanded a vast army. It was thus thought inadvisable to declare open war on him. The only way to get rid of him was, therefore, to challenge him to a single combat. For this it was necessary that the combatants must come close to each other. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, went to Magadha with Bhīma and Arjuna. Disguised as Brahmins, these three effected their entrance into the palace, found themselves face to face with the king and after some conversation, declared their identity and challenged him to a duel with any of the three he pleased. The king chose Bhīma as his antagonist, had a fierce duel—mainly wrestling—with him and was eventually killed.

This incident illustrates an important principle of war. As Jarāsandha himself declared : “ If there was an army to fight, an army must fight it; a single man could be met by a single combatant.....two by two and three by three, jointly or severally, as the parties desired ” (Mbh. ii. 22. 30).

There are certain facts in this case which should be carefully noticed. The three stalwart Kṣatriyas, Kṛṣṇa and his companions, smuggled themselves into the house of the king of Magadha. They had no army with them, not even body-guards. They challenged the king to a single combat with any one of them. The king agreed and invited death on himself. He certainly had his guards near by; his army was within call; he was in his own house, surrounded by his own men. He could easily mete out condign punishment to the intruders. We can easily imagine what any individual—not to speak of a king—would have done today in these circumstances. But, obviously acting in accordance with the time-honoured principle that for a Kṣatriya to refuse to fight when challenged to do so, was an act of cowardice, the king of Magadha preferred the path of honour to that of safety. And when honour was at stake, the consequences did not matter.

(ii) The practice of duels and single combats of which there are many instances in the Mahābhārata, was based on a theory of personal courage and sense of honour which was peculiar to the epic age and is unthinkable in modern times. It appears to be regarded as a universal right of an enemy to demand a specific kind of fight and to have this demand respected. In Mbh. ix. 32., we have a re-iteration of this principle. There the story is told how Duryodhana having his entire army either annihilated or scattered in all directions, fled from the field of battle and concealed himself in a lake. After a vigorous search, he was discovered by the Pāṇḍavas and challenged to a fight. At first he shows some hesitation, but when eventually he agrees to fight he argues that as he is alone and without any soldiers to help him, he cannot possibly fight against an array of warriors. Besides, he has no weapons with him worth mentioning and no chariots or other conveniences. To this Yudhiṣṭhira, his rival, replies that he may be given any of these conveniences and any weapon he may choose; and he may also choose his antagonist with whom to measure his strength and thereby either to win or to die. The dialogue between the two is very interesting. "It is not fair", says Duryodhana, "that one man should fight against many" (sl. 12). But immediately after he bursts out in an angry exclamation that single-handed he would fight them all together. Yudhiṣṭhira compliments him on this out-burst of heroism but readily concedes the principle that he may select his weapon—and also his antagonist—and may fight his chosen foe alone. And it is further agreed that he need not overcome them all in succession: if he wins against the one he selects he will be declared the vanquisher of all and be accepted as the victorious king: These principles being agreed upon, Duryodhana then declares his intentions. He would not accept any weapon or equipment from his enemies. He had a club with him which would suffice as his weapon; and he would fight on foot (without any chariot). Any one of Yudhiṣṭhira's soldiers who was willing to encounter him under these conditions, was his antagonist. Of course, he was alone and unsupported and if they so wished, they might all attack him simultaneously and crush him. But it

would be a sight for the gods to see him so killed. To this, Yudhiṣṭhira retorts that it was rather Duryodhana's party that refused to recognise the principle that unequal fight was unfair. How else could so many of his valiant warriors lead a combined attack on poor Abhimanyu and kill him? So far, however, as he was concerned, Yudhiṣṭhira would make all reasonable concessions. A helmet was given to him and an armour, too (IX. 32. 63¹). And only one of the five brothers would give him battle and if he was victorious against this one, he would be declared as the winner of the two parties and the earth would belong to him.

Now, here in these conversations we have an enunciation of the higher principles of warfare. In a later chapter (ch. 58) we are reminded by Kṛṣṇa that it was needless generosity on the part of Yudhiṣṭhira : Duryodhana did not deserve it. In the first place, it was not necessary to hunt out Duryodhana. He might well be left alone in his self-imposed exile and be allowed to spend his last days in obscurity, unhonoured and unsung. And if he was hounded up at all, it was easy to capture or kill him and have done with the last of the enemy once for all. But all this display of generosity and leaving things again to the chances of war, was sheer bosh. *

Yudhiṣṭhira is thus denounced for his foolishness ; but no one can call in question the righteousness of the principle he lays down.

And inspite of this disclaimer, it is granted that any other course would not be in accordance with the higher principles of war. Only, such a course would be justifiable against Duryodhana, because he was a dishonourable man. It was unjust in the abstract but justifiable on the principle that wickedness was the proper weapon against wicked men. As a matter of fact, inspite of the concession made by Yudhiṣṭhira, other irregularities were there. And although in the specific case before us, viz. in Bhīma's encounter with Duryodhana, some of the canons of nobler warfare are not respected, yet, the very fact that an attempt is made to justify these breaches,

* 'abuddhir-eṣā mahatī dharma-rājasya pāṇḍava'.

(e. g. the stroke on the knee), shows that the practice was the other way (ch. 59) (cf. also ch. 63. sl. 9 etc). We are, therefore, left with the conclusion that according to epic way of thinking, an honourable war required that the enemy should not be surprised; he should be warned and called upon to defend himself; he should be given equal facilities, in arms and equipments and other conditions. He should be fought single-handed if he was alone. And even in mass attacks, each to one was the correct principle of attack. In a modern war, a king or a military leader in Duryodhana's position would be at once declared vanquished and, if possible, he would be captured, exiled to a St. Helena like Napoleon or allowed to flee to a neutral country like the last Kaiser of Germany, and nothing more would be necessary. That Yudhiṣṭhira refused to regard himself as victorious or the war at an end, until his principal enemy was killed, shows the difference between modern times and then.

In the above anecdotes, we have examples of what *should* be done in war. There are other incidents to illustrate what *should not* be done.

(iii) The fact that ultimately epic war resolved itself into single combats of some kind or other, necessitated stricter regulations about the mode of attack than now. As we have pointed out before, when enemies fight at long range and deliver mass attacks, very few regulations regarding the nature and manner of the blows can really be effective. But when fighting is at close quarters, it is in such regulations that the sense of honour of the people exhibits itself. We had such regulations in the days of chivalry in Europe and we had them in epic India also. 'Striking below the belt' is a classical expression of what was regarded as wrong in war. We have a recognition of this principle in the battle between Bhīma and Duryodhana as described in IX. 58. It was a club-fight and according to the recognised regulations of such fight, striking below the navel was wrong. By striking Duryodhana on the knees, Bhīma broke this rule and acted wrongly. Kṛṣṇa's elder brother, Balarāma, who happened to be accidentally present at this duel, was extremely angry at this breach of rule.

But Kṛṣṇa with subtle logic and cynical statecraft justified it. (ch. 60). His chief argument was that a Kṣatriya's chief virtue was to keep his vow. Bhīma had taken a vow that he would break Duryodhana's knee-joints in battle and by keeping this vow he had only acted in the right way. This pseudo-ethics (" *dharma-cchalam* " IX. 60. 23.) of Kṛṣṇa did not satisfy his brother who left the place in disgust, expressing, in the nature of a curse, the opinion, which may now be regarded as the world's opinion, that the conduct of the Pāṇḍavas would rightly condemn them as crookedfighters, while Duryodhana must be given the credit of fighting with clean hands—so far at any rate as many of these rules were concerned.

(iv) 'Many against one'—as we have already pointed out before, was an unfair mode of attack. In the battle against Duryodhana, the principle was conceded. But in fighting Abhimanyu, Duryodhana's party violated this principle. Several soldiers struck Abhimanyu simultaneously and we are definitely told that it was unrighteous.* And this attack has been condemned in several other places in the Mahābhārata also and still rings in the popular condemnation of Duryodhana.

(v) Among other ideas of right and wrong in war we may note that attack without notice was considered wrong. Night attack—attack from a place of concealment, attack without declaring oneself—i. e., any kind of attack which was not clear and straightforward, was regarded as wrong. During the great battle, every day as soon as night fell, hostilities ceased and the parties repaired to their respective camps to rest, to tend to the wounded and to prepare for the next day's fighting. And hostilities would not start again without blowing conchshells and bugles and other instruments which was an obvious warning to the enemy. In vi. 120, we are told that when Bhīṣma fell in battle and was lying on a bed of arrows, it was evening and the parties cried halt to their soldiers. The hostilities ceased for the day. And then all great chieftains

* " *naiṣa dharmo mato hi naḥ* " (vii. 48, 21).

from both sides repaired unto Bhīṣma to pay him their homage and to express sympathy. The leading warriors of the contending parties met each other by the side of Bhīṣma's bed, forgetting for the moment that they were mortal enemies. This is an evidence of the high sense of honour in war. And in vii. 76, *et seq.*, we have detailed description of how the nights and mornings were spent by these warriors. It would appear from these descriptions that, so far as these parts of the day were concerned, there was not much difference between life at home and life in camp. Armed guards were of course placed at the entrance of the camp during the night and each warrior slept with weapons by his bed-side (vii. 77). But an attack during the night was as a rule never apprehended. And in the morning they found time to say their usual prayer and also to pray for success during the ensuing battle before they actually engaged in it. The kingly pomp was maintained as far as practicable. There was the morning music to wake the king up. There were dances also and songs. And having risen from bed, the king would have his luxurious bath with scented water poured out from golden jars. Then he would dress and receive learned Brahmins in audience and listen to their counsel, receive their benediction and bestow gifts on them. He would then witness auspicious omens, such as well-dressed damsels, flower-wreaths, fire and gold etc. All these formalities being over, he would come out of the inner part of the camp, meet his warriors and gradually the elephants will begin to roar, and sounds of conch-shells and bugles would start, and this would be the signal for the battle (vii. 80).

Though this seems to be the usual procedure of warfare, yet when excitement ran high, these rules were not always observed. For in Mbh. vii. 179. *et seq.* we have a long narration of a furious battle between the two parties which ran far into the night. The night was pitch dark and friends could not be distinguished from foes. But the parties were in the thick of the fight and hostilities could not cease at that stage. Lamps were held aloft and weapons were hurled. The lamps were not bright enough to make faces known. They called each

other by name and heard the names shouted by the other side and struck accordingly (vii. 170. 36 *et seq.*).

In the Rāmāyaṇa VI. 44 (Kumbhakonam Edition) also we have the description of night battle. And in the same chapter Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, overpowered Rāma and his brothers from a place of concealment. From these it seems that the rules of war were better developed in the time of the Mahābhārata than that of the Rāmāyaṇa. Besides in the Mahābhārata the wars were mostly between clans and tribes equally civilised. But the wars of the Rāmāyaṇa were wars between men and sub-human races (or Rākṣasas and monkeys), or to put it in the language of modern times, they were wars between races or tribes in varying degrees of civilisation. It may be compared to a modern war between whites and coloured people or between Europeans and Afridis or Africans. This probably accounts for some of the differences in the canons of correct warfare in the two epics. In any case the above instances from the Rāmāyaṇa are rather exceptions which confirm the rule. Physical courage was valued, but not duplicity. Brainy people in war were regarded as unworthy of the profession of arms. What would now be considered good tactics in war were rather at a discount in those days. Curiously, however, the righteous side in the great war—viz., Yudhiṣṭhira's party, was more guilty of duplicity and diplomacy and dishonourable tactics than the other party. In IX. 60 Bhīma's tortuous methods of warfare are strongly condemned by Balarāma. "Having killed the straight fighter, Duryodhana, by unrighteous methods, Bhīma will be known to the world as a dishonest warrior". (St. 24)

And in X. 5. 11-12, we are given a list of those who should be spared their life in war. "Killing persons in sleep is unrighteous and is never approved. Similarly, those who have been deprived of their arms and are devoid of chariots and horses, and those who declare "I belong to you", those who request shelter, those whose hair is untied (i. e. whose head is unprotected) and those who have no conveyance to carry them—should not be killed".

Again in X. 6., we are told that no weapon should be used against cows, Brahmins etc. This list includes women, weak men and men with organic defects, sleeping men and frightened men and also mad men. In VIII. 90-91, we have a discussion as to whether an enemy can be struck when his chariot is out of order and he has to attend to it. Though for previous dereliction on the part of the Kauravas, the principle was not respected in the case before us, it seems to be agreed that such attacks were not right.

The leading ideas that emerge from these discussions are :

(i) an unarmed person, even though he may be one's enemy, should not be attacked.

(ii) one who surrenders himself is entitled to safety and protection.

(iii) when an enemy has taken refuge with you, may be by mistake, he is entitled to safety.

(iv) an enemy in sleep and in fear, should not be attacked.

In Mahābhārata VI. 1. 27-32, we have a summary of the conventions which were expressly adopted by the belligerents in the field of Kurukṣetra : and this may also be regarded as the summary of the international code of war-ethics of those times.

"When legitimate fighting ceased, the parties must be friends to one another.

"All encounters must be between equals as far as possible and there shall be no deceit.

" Words must be responded to by words alone.

"Any one going out of his party's army should not be attacked.

"A charioteer should be met by charioteer and an elephant-rider by an elephant-rider ; a horse-soldier by a horse-soldier and a foot-soldier by a foot-soldier.

"Men shall strike men similarly armed and no attack shall begin without warning and there shall be no attack on one who is trusting and does not suspect an attack or is tired. One man should not be attacked by many and those who seek shel-

ter, are running, have no arms and no armour, should not be attacked. Drivers of chariots, load-bearers and carriers of arms should not be attacked, nor the drummers or buglers."

(d) *Courtesies in war :*

In Mbh. VI. 43, just before the great war began, we find the two opposing armies arrayed in battle order in close vicinity. All were in war mood. The word was to go forth and the fight was to begin. Just in these circumstances we find Yudhiṣṭhira leaving his army, going alone and unguarded, with folded hands, towards the army of his enemy. He had left behind all his military accoutrement and was going on foot. His brothers and a few others naturally follow him and try to dissuade him from going too near the army of the opponents. They are anxious for his safety. But he is not to be dissuaded. He goes unarmed and naturally no one would dare to strike him under these conditions. He goes straight to the elders—his own relatives—grand-uncles, uncles, tutors and others—and courtesies to them. He goes to Bhīṣma, he goes to Droṇa and he goes to several others. He bows to them, seeks their blessings and begs their forgiveness for having to fight against them, and asks their permission.

It is a pathetic exchange of greetings :

Yudhiṣṭhira says to Bhīṣma : " O mighty warrior ! I invite you to a fight and we shall fight against you. Give me the permission, father, and thy blessings, too." (St. 37). He approaches others also in the same vein and is complimented on the goodness that he had shown in this way. The elders further added that if he had failed in this etiquette of honourable war, they would have cursed him. Now that he had not been found wanting in good sense, they would wish him well, though they could not but fight against him.

This expression of courtesy was necessary, because there were on the opposite side persons who were entitled to his respect. And it is only to those that he repairs and shows courtesy. He does not address the others who were his equals in rank and status, e. g. his cousins. We are reminded in this connection that such had been the practice with decent people

among the ancients (St. 23-24.). Now the possibility of such exchange of greetings in the field of battle, just when the fight was about to start, exhibits a phase of ancient warfare which we may rightly admire. Dealing blows to a person who is entitled to your respect is an act of sacrilege and ample apologies must be rendered for such acts, although the act cannot be always avoided. We have another such instance in Mbh. V. 182, where the story is told of how Bhīṣma had to fight his own teacher in arms viz., Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma was entitled to Bhīṣma's respect on two grounds : in the first place, he was a Brahmin and so belonged to the higher caste which was as such entitled to honour. Secondly, he was Bhīṣma's master and gave him lessons in military science and was thus also entitled to honour. When, however, a battle between the two became inevitable, Bhīṣma got down from his cart and saluted his master before throwing out his missiles against him.

(e) *Death of the vanquished and method of killing :*

In modern enmities, a vanquished enemy is not necessarily killed. Just as in society the death penalty is reserved for some of the most heinous crimes against it and is meted out rather sparingly in modern times, so, in warfare also we expect in this age that loss of life should be the minimum possible. And it is an understood principle of warfare, that if an enemy can be captured, he should not be killed ; and if he surrenders, his life should be spared. Of course, there are no other sanctions behind these practices except world opinion. Yet, as a rule they are observed. But exceptions also are there. After the great European war in the first quarter of this century, a section of the public in England and her allied countries raised the cry of ' Hang the Kaiser ' ; and the proposal was seriously mooted to have him tried by an International Tribunal and hanged, if he was found guilty. If this had happened, it would have been a case of killing a vanquished enemy. A royal enemy is always a fruitful source of future trouble and, even though vanquished, it is often considered unsafe to let him live. That was perhaps the logic behind the agitation against the Kaiser. But lesser enemies—soldiers of an opponent—when captured, are, according to

modern practice, allowed to live. It must be admitted at the same time, however, that when war fever seizes a nation, it does not always scrupulously adhere to the maxims of higher morality. During and after the world war that has just ended, we have heard woeful tales of wanton murder. And after the war, there have been many cases of trials for war crimes and men have been hanged for such.

In ancient times also, in Epic India, we mean, the practice seems to have been the same. An enemy who surrendered was usually spared his life. That was mainly because surrender implied admission of defeat and it also implied that the conqueror was the master of the conquered. But from the nature of ancient warfare, it followed that it was almost always a fight to the finish. And hence we have not many accounts of captives or war prisoners. And after the great battles of the epics were over, very few survivors were left. When, however, the enemy allowed himself to be captured, he was spared his life. That seems to be the usual practice. But in *Mahābhārata* III. 270.46, we have a categorical statement that an enemy who steals your wife or robs you of your kingdom, should on no account be spared. He should be killed. But in spite of this statement, as a matter of fact, even in the case before us, such an enemy was spared his life—though because of other considerations. It is clear, however, that if he were killed, public opinion of the time would not have disapproved of such action.

We cannot say that modern weapons of killing are less barbarous than those of ancient days. Arrows and javelins and axes and clubs etc. were far less horrible as weapons than the various kinds of bullets used in modern war, the different bombs, the asphyxiating gas, the mines, electrified wires and so forth. Yet there is a sense in which a modern war is more civilised. It is that in these wars the striker and the struck never know each other. That makes some difference in the mentality of the striker. The horrors and sufferings are not less to-day; but we look upon our wars as more humane in this respect that, as far as possible, the striker is spared the spectacle of the blood gushing out of

the wounds that he has inflicted. And in this way, he is spared the possibility of developing a thirst for blood, which is so frequently evinced in savage warfare. No modern soldier would be capable of drinking the warm blood of his enemy as Bhīma did (VIII. 83). No modern soldier would ordinarily be capable of tearing asunder the body of his victim in the way in which Bhīma ripped the body of Jarā-sandha (II. 24). The horrors of modern war are not less, yet the brutalising effect of these on the minds of those who fight is perhaps very much less. The difference is not difficult to imagine. It is the same as between a butcher and a big game shooter.

There were important differences in the conditions of war. But whatever the cause may be, the fact was that, in some respects, ancient war had a more brutalising effect on the soldier than modern war.

(f) *Care of the wounded and the dead :*

The care of the wounded and the dead is one of the tests of civilised war. In the epic age, obviously, there were no red cross societies and other similar institutions, nor were there any organised ambulance corps. But it must be said to the credit of our forefathers that they were sufficiently civilised to take all reasonable care of the wounded and the dead—as far as was possible under the prevailing conditions of war in their time. There were no doubt, occasions when, like other duties, this duty also was neglected ; but instances are quite plentiful to show that men of the time were fully aware of it.

The first important fact that we should note in this connection is that, as a rule, the night was kept free to look to the wounded and the dead and to mature plans for the next day's battle. This rule, like other rules in other times as well as in the epic age, was sometimes violated (Ram. VI. 44. Mbh. X). But, as we find in the Mahābhārata, generally this was the rule (Mbh. VI. 49.55. etc. ibid. VII. 15. etc.).

The first great wounded in the battle of Kurukṣetra was Bhīṣma. The combined care of the parties with which he was protected is remarkable. It demonstrates the high moral sense of these people in war. When Bhīṣma fell, the day's

battle was practically over ; and having called their troops to their respective tents, the leaders of the two contending parties went together to the bed-side of the great hero. He, we are told, had control over his death and decided not to die until the sun was on its northward journey. The arrangements were that he should continue to live lying on his bed of arrows till after the winter solstice. In any case, he lay mortally wounded and needed care and attention. This care and attention was profusely bestowed on him by both sides including his enemies in war. He wanted a support for his head ; this was promptly provided him by Arjuna, the man who vanquished him (VI. 120). He wanted pure drinking water : this also was procured in a mysterious manner by Arjuna (VI. 121). So scrupulously was the bed-side of the great hero respected that even women could visit him where he lay (VI. 121).

In XI. 26-27 and also XII. 42 and also elsewhere we are told that to all the dead in war, the last rites of the departed were performed with proper ceremony. The customary offerings were made. The sons and wives of the departed were given all facilities for showing the last honour to the dead and to those who left no sons or wives, these offerings were made by their next of kin. In this way, irrespective of the party to which he belonged, each Kṣatriya had his śrāddha or last rites properly performed. So far as cremation was concerned, it is conceivable that when a large mass of dead bodies accumulated in the battle field, cremation of each dead body by itself might not be possible. In IV. 24. 7, we have an example of how a large number of dead bodies were disposed of in one funeral pyre. This, however, is a matter in which even our age with its numerous contrivances and appliances has its difficulties and has not been able to overcome the necessity of mass burial or mass cremation. But whether dead bodies were burnt individually or collectively, the religion of the time demanded that those killed in battle should not be denied the last rites to which one who died naturally was entitled. It was a strong Aryan instinct that the dead bodies should be properly disposed of and we have one of the finest

tragedies in the Greek language—the *Antigone* of Sophokles, based on this idea. In Mahābhārata XI. 26, we have a detailed description of how keenly painful the possibility of wild animals feeding on the dead bodies was felt to be and with what promptitude and with what show of respect these were disposed by the winning party.

All these things show the deep religious convictions that permeated the lives of these warrior tribes. But though in a certain sense their treatment of the wounded and the dead in war bespoke a high state of civilisation, there were dark spots on it also. For instance, in IX. 65, we have the story of Duryodhana's death. His knee-joints were broken and he lay bleeding, uncared-for, writhing in agony in a pool of blood and giving out intermittent shrieks of pain. It must be regarded as a slur on Yudhiṣṭhira's party that this royal enemy was left in this condition in a wilderness.

(g) *Cruelties in war :*

No war is free from cruelties. Inhumanities, barbarities, needless display of bloodthirstiness—all these come inevitably in the wake of war. However high we may set our ideal, even modern age is not absolutely free from these cruelties in war. It is no wonder, therefore, that in an age far removed from ours, barbarities of the worst kind made their appearance in war. We may refer to one or two such instances in the Mahābhārata.

In VII. 191, we have one glaring case of barbarity. We are told there that after Droṇa had fallen in battle and his soul had departed from his body, a soldier from Yudhiṣṭhira's party, a close relation of his, ran up with a sword in hand and chopped off the head of the old veteran of eighty-five, and the severed head was thrown across the lines to the place where Duryodhana's soldiers stood. This was undoubtedly a deed of barbarism. But the saving feature of this incident is that it was not intended by the party of Yudhiṣṭhira as a whole. It was the misdeed of one individual and he did it disregarding the protests of his own leaders.

Again in VIII. 83, we have the story of Bhīma drinking the warm blood gushing out of the chest of Duṣṣāsana,

ripped open by him. It was a ghastly spectacle beyond doubt. And the fact that Bhīma gloats over the deed and takes pride in the sort of vengeance that he had wreaked on his enemies, makes it uglier still. In IX. 59, we have another instance of cruelty verging on barbarity. King Duryodhana had fallen in battle; he was lying half-dead on the ground and there was absolutely no prospect of his getting up again. Between him and death there was only a brief span of time. While he was lying in this state, Bhīma, Yudhiṣṭhira's brother, to whose credit belonged the final victory over the enemy, went up to Duryodhana and kicked upon his royal head. This was absolutely unjustifiable. After all, Duryodhana was a close cousin, a crowned king and on the whole, an honourable enemy. To treat him like that when he was dying! But against this act of semi-savagery must be set off the kingly generosity of Yudhiṣṭhira described in the same chapter. He forbade Bhīma do what he did: went up to Duryodhana and apologised to him for his brother's misconduct and sympathised with him in his fallen condition and regretted the series of events that had led up to his fall.

In spite of these and similar savageries which one may meet in the epics, we must say that, on the whole, war in epic India was not less humane than in modern times. We are of course not speaking of the means of alleviating suffering. These were obviously far less developed then than now. The science of medicine and surgery was yet in its infancy. Apparently, therefore, the alleviation of sufferings in war which these sciences can effect was not possible in the days of the epics. Besides, organisations like a Red Cross Society were also not thought of in those days. But they were certainly less necessary than now. The conditions of war—the means and methods of inflicting sufferings—are different now and are far more effective than before. The conditions of ancient warfare were such that no such organisation for giving first aid to the victims of war were really called for. But even admitting that these things were wanting, we cannot say that the ideas of right and wrong in war were very much less developed then than now. And it is after all these

ideas that really matter. If a people consider the adoption of certain means in war wrong, then that is a test of their humanity in war. And judging according to this standard we shall certainly find the ideas of propriety and impropriety in war were not less human in epic India than now. Attack without warning, attack from a place of concealment, attack on an unarmed enemy were definitely considered wrong. Not that a wrong was not done by any soldier. That is too much to expect of any age. But public opinion regarded such attacks as wrong. This shows the high morality of the epic people. In these respects, modern war is less fair than epic war.

But there is one respect in which modern war has become much fairer than old wars. It is in the fact that modern war is an operation primarily intended to defeat the enemy and not to destroy him. And hence attempts are always made to avoid unnecessary loss of life and property. It is mainly due to two factors. First, now it is countries that fight each other and not individuals, and second, inter-national relations are so developed and complicated now that the destruction of one country, even its complete economic ruin, will have a repercussion on other countries also and will adversely affect even the victor countries. So a vanquished country is not annihilated. Its population is helped to a rehabilitation; its industries are reorganised; and its economic resources are allowed to develop. All this is done primarily in the interest of the victor; but indirectly it helps also humanity as a whole.

In epic times, however, war was between one individual and another—a king and a king: and a mere defeat was not sufficiently effective, surrender or capture of the enemy was elusive, and even the destruction of the enemy's army was not enough. For, if the chief enemy was not finally disposed of, he might easily gather together another army and be a source of danger again. This is why Duryodhana was run down to death in the Mahābhārata and Rāvaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa could on no account be allowed to live. The same is true of other minor quarrels also in the epics. Whatever may be the causes, this difference between epic war and war in modern times remains.

VIKRAMORVAŚĪYAM ACT IV

By DR. S. S. BHAWE

[N.B.—The following abbreviations are used in this paper :—

K. = Kālidāsa

Rām. = Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki

Vik. = Vikramorvaśīyam.

Where the use of these abbreviations appeared to make a particular sentence clumsy, they are dispensed with. The Stanzās in Act IV of Vik. are referred to without my particularisation : e. g. 4. 8-27 stands for Vik. IV. 8-27 and so on.]

Though the poetry of Kālidāsa has received the best attention of ancient and modern critics, a detailed study of his plays from a purely dramatic point of view is yet a desideratum. Thus Sten Konow's "Das Indische Drama" concerns itself with bibliographical, historical and other details as is natural to a volume in "The Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research". Sylvain Lévi's "Le Théâtre Indien", regarded on all hands as literature of high order by itself, is accessible to only a few and does not deal with those aspects of dramatic criticism, which are contemplated here. Finally Dr. Keith's "Sanskrit Drama" does not contain much by way of a strict and detailed dramatic criticism. Even in recent Indian books on K. viz. that of M. M. Prin. V. V. Mirashi (in Marathi) and of Prof. Jhala (in English) no special attention is paid to the dramatic valuation of K., especially because the books are intended more or less as introduction to the life and works of the poet. To study, therefore, the plays of K. either from the point of view of the "Bharatānātyaśāstra" or to evaluate them in the light of the dramatic canons of the West would prove quite fruitful. As a sort of an humble attempt¹ in that direction it is proposed in this

1. Of course, it must be mentioned here that some critical work attempted from this point of view has already appeared. Prof. B. K. Thakore in his excellent paper 'Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra: a Study' (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 1. Supplement Pp. 1-43) has offered a study of the play largely from the dramatic point of view. Dr. V. Raghavan offers a study in characterisation in his paper "Women Characters in Kālidāsa's plays". (This list obviously is not exhaustive.)

paper to examine Act IV of the "Vikramorvaśīyam" from a strictly dramatic point of view or in other words, to evaluate it as a stage success.

There are some important reasons for choosing just Vik. IV for such a treatment. In the first place, the excellence of the fourth Act of the "Śākuntala" has been so much appreciated on all hands that many other equally beautiful scenes from K. pass unnoticed. To the present writer it appears that a study of Vik. IV may not only prove its own dramatic excellence, but it may even help to remove certain settled opinions like "... tatrāpi ca caturtho'ṅkaḥ" etc. (referring to the "Śākuntala"). And such a point of view need not appear to be solitary. An old German Indologist Alexander Von Humboldt is of opinion that in the forest scene (Vik. IV) Kālidāsa has succeeded in presenting "the most beautiful poetic creation that any age has ever brought out".² It is true that Humboldt, in his remark, pays a compliment to the *poetic* and not to the *dramatic* excellence of the act (though the original German passage appears to suggest that Humboldt meant not simply a poetic creation but a poet-author's creation).³ Further, Prof. Hillebrandt is of opinion that the "Urvaśī" is the most perfect creation of Kālidāsa, from the artistic point of view. He says that from the point of view of pure poetry and that of delineation of human emotions, the "Śākuntala" is most excellent, but regarding dramatic technique, the "Urvaśī" is most artistic and its highest point is reached in the separation scene in Act IV.

To translate Prof. Hillebrandt's remarks,

"In it (i. e. Act IV) the poet's faculty of creation, in all the spheres of art, viz. music, poetic and dramatic, has reached its highest point".⁴ Of course, there are some opposite opinions also. Prof. Mirashi in his Marathi book

2. A. V. Humboldt, Kosmos II (1847) 117, quoted by Prof. Hillebrandt in his "Kalidasa" (p. 88, foot-note 121).

3. The original words quoted are... "Kalidasa hier geschaffen hat, zu den schönsten dischterischen Erzeugnissen ...", the word used is 'dischterisch' and not 'poetisch' which would mean only poetical.

4. Prof. Hillebrandt, "Kalidasa", Breslau (1921) P. 87.

on K. says, "... in the 4th act the King is represented as expressing sorrows from beginning to end in about the same manner. No other sentiments (Rasas) are used to heighten the pathetic (i.e. Karuṇa Rasa); hence the act becomes tedious."⁵ All the same in view of some of these opinions about the 4th Act it would indeed be worth our while to determine how far it actually deserves the praise bestowed on it by Humboldt and Hillebrandt and more particularly to see how far it has really reached the height of dramatic technique. Moreover, the scene is unique in the whole field of Sanskrit drama, as it throughout presents only a single character almost in the same mood (as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi); and just for this reason it is necessary to see how far the author has succeeded in making it really interesting from the spectators' point of view—just the right criterion to test the dramatic merit of the author. We, therefore, propose to make a detailed study of this act in order to get some insight in the dramatic art of K.

In the first place K's choice of the subject is remarkable; it shows his unmistakable eye for what is really dramatic. Like Shakespeare and Shaw he almost instinctively knew one secret of dramatic art viz., that the characters in a play should preferably be well-known figures of mythology or history, for, then the spectators easily understand their dramatic significance and the dramatist is not required to use special devices for that purpose. In this connection, it is notable that out of all the plays of G. B. Shaw, "St. Joan" with the heroine's historical and religious background has become the most popular and dramatically significant. The ancient Indian theorists also knew this well when they prescribed that a Nāṭaka should be 'khyātāvṛtta' (its story should be well-known). The drama is essentially a spectacle and the spectators really enjoy it when they see on the stage familiar or known characters like Rāma or Rāvaṇa, Antony or Caesar or St. Joan. Kālidāsa chose Purūravas, precisely that character, which was the lover *par excellence*, handed down by

5. Prof. Mirashi, "Kalidasa" (Navabharata Granthmala No. 8 ... in Marathi) P.173. The English translation is mine.

Sanskrit mythology.⁶ No lover except Rāma was greater than Purūravas and naturally nothing could afford a greater opportunity dramatically to delineate the Viraha-śṛṅgāra sentiment than the separation incident in Purūravas-Urvaśī's love story. In Vik., Kālidāsa has achieved dramatically what he has achieved poetically in the Meghadūtam. And we must not forget that this success of his is in no small measure due to the very nature of Purūravas' character. Such a scene in the case of Duṣṣanta or Agnimitra would have been a folly and a failure, while it has become unique in the case of Purūravas.

There appears to be another reason why K. was so much attracted by the theme of Purūravas' love for Urvaśī and especially by that scene of long separation in the Himalayan forest. Exactly a similar scene by the great poet-sage Vālmiki has certainly become very popular in India viz., the mad forest-wanderings of Rāma after Sita, when she was kidnapped by Rāvaṇa. In fact, as we shall presently see, the scene in Vik. IV has some striking similarities with the lament scene in the Rāmāyaṇa. And there is hardly anything improbable in supposing that K. worked under the influence of Vālmiki.

But is there any objective evidence for such a hypothesis? Some scholars have even doubts as to whether K. at all knew the Rām. of Vālmiki! Prof. C. Kunhan Raja e. g. expresses the following opinion on this question: 'Not only do I find difficulty in accepting that Rāma was a great hero to Kālidāsa, I have also a very great difficulty in believing that Kālidāsa had known the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.' But as opposed to this, it has been accepted almost as a certainty that Rām. had considerably influenced K. Mallinātha while commenting upon the Meghadūta, says that there is a tradition according to which K.'s idea of representing the cloud as a messenger

6. Cf. the various accounts, Vedic as well as Purāṇic, of the love story of Purūravas and Urvaśī discussed by Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I. 243-265.

7. "Shri Rāma and the Raghuvamśa" by C. Kunhan Raja, *Festschrift Kane*, p. 357. But the author himself further (*ibid* p. 361) remarks, "I have only raised or suggested a problem. It is not proved ...".

had its origin in Hanumān being Rāma's messenger to Sītā.⁸ Moreover, it is rather difficult to believe that such a representative of the Indian spirit as K. did not know the Rām. Of course, in the absence of objective evidence, we cannot definitely say that the Vālmiki-Rām. in its present form was known to K. There are, however, references to incidents and characters from Rām. in K.'s works,⁹ and for practical purposes one would not be wrong in holding that K. was influenced by the great story of Rāma and Sītā. We almost feel it instinctively and so far there is no strong evidence against it.

Prof. Bollensen,¹⁰ however, is of opinion (expressed about a century back) that the Viraha-scene in Vik. must have been suggested to K. by the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa episode. And, as evidence, he points out to the presence of Prakrit songs, which Purūravas sings along with the Sanskrit ślokas. But the very authenticity of these songs is doubted and though Raṅganātha (and Bollensen also) accepts them as genuine, the late S. P. Pandit has proved their spurious character. Moreover, linguistically, the age of the Prakrit of these songs is yet a matter of controversy and cannot most probably have belonged to the time of K. Further in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa scene, it is Rādhā who waits in separation, while in our scene, it is Purūravas, a male, who wanders and laments and has, therefore, a real parallel in Rāma crying for Sītā in the Janasthāna-forest. Further, a śloka from the present Vālmiki-Rām. appears almost verbatim¹¹ in the Purūravas-scene in Vik.,

8. सीतां प्रति हनुमत्संदेशम् मनसि निधाय मेघसंदेशं कविः कृतवान् इत्याहुः ।
मल्लिनाथ-मेघदूत-टीका (On the 1st Śloka).

9. Cf. इत्याख्याति पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा । —Uttara-Megha, 37;
जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु । —Pūrva-Megha, 1 etc.

10. 'Urwasi'—Von F. Bollensen, St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 508.

11. Rāma addressed the Prasravaṇa mountain thus :

उवाच रामो धर्मात्मा गिरिं प्रस्त्रवणाकुलम् । कञ्चिद्विभूतिभृतां नाथ
दृष्ट्वा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ॥ रामा रम्या वनोद्देशे मया विरहिता त्वया ।

—Rām. 3. 64. 29, 30ab.

The last two lines occur word to word in Vik. IV, 27, which begin, however, with सर्वविभूतिभृताम् etc., instead of कञ्चित् etc. By dispensing with कञ्चित् K. forces here the use of *Kāku*. His dramatic use of this stanza will be discussed further.

which strengthens the probability that K. has borrowed it from the Rām. The intentional and necessary change introduced by K. in the beginning of this stanza confirms this opinion.

Leaving aside the question of K.'s indebtedness to Vālmiki, though we can certainly hold that K. did know the story of Rāma's lament for Sītā, it would indeed be very valuable for a critical estimate of K. to see how his scene compares with the one delineated by the *Ādi-Kavi* in the Rām. (Aranya Kāṇḍa, Chapters 60-64). It would throw a great light on how K. has managed to turn a simple episode into a fine dramatic creation.

The scene in the Rām. is as follows:—¹²

(Having killed Mārīca, Rāma returned to the hut.) He saw it, terrible without Sītā, like a lake in winter, bereft of its lotuses, it was (as it were) crying with its trees, their flowers being faded. "Is Sītā taken away by somebody, is she dead, or has she concealed herself (through fun), or has she gone to the river for fetching water or to gather flowers?"—various such thoughts swarmed in his mind. Trying hard to search for her in the forest, he failed; his eyes now became red with sorrow, and though lustrous, he appeared as if he were mad.¹³ From tree to tree, hill to hill and river to river he wandered and asked questions (even to inanimate objects) about Sītā.

"Oh Arjuna! dost thou know her? Thou wert very dear to her. So if thou knowest please tell!"¹⁴

12. In the sketch given here the Rām. text is strictly followed; many unimportant details, however, are dropped. It is felt that such a summary would facilitate comparison of the Rām-scene with Vik. IV.

13. यत्तान्मृगयमाणस्तु नाससाद वने प्रियाम्
शोकरक्ते क्षणः श्रीमान् उन्मत्त इव लक्ष्यते ॥ —Rām. 3. 60, 10.

It is notable that K. also has used the word *Unmatta* while describing Purūravas; cf. further क्वचिन्मत्त इवाभाति etc. —Rām. 60, 36, 37.

14. While summarising we have dropped addresses to Bilva, Kakubha, etc. in the following strain:—

निग्धपल्लवसंकाशां पीतकौशेयवासिनीम् ।
शंसस्व यदि सा दृष्टा बिल्व बिल्वोपमस्तनी ॥ —ibid 60, 13 and so on.

Oh, Tilaka ! Since thou art a great tree sung to by bees (speaks to himself) he (the Tilaka) certainly knows her, as he was dear to her. ”

“ Oh, Aśoka (thou) remover of sorrow, please make me have a similar name with thee ’ (i. e. make me *aśoka* free from sorrow) by showing me my beloved ”.¹⁵

“ Oh Karṇikāra ! thou shinest well with the flowers ; please tell if thou hast seen my beloved ; Karṇikāra (flowers) were dear to her. ”

“ Oh deer, doest thou know her, whose glances are deer-like ? She might be in the midst of the female-deer ! ”

‘ Oh, elephant ! tell me if she is known to thee ’ ... and so on.

(In the meanwhile he feels as if he has seen Sītā. So he addresses her —)

‘ Oh Sītā, why do you so run away ? I have seen you. Why do you conceal yourself in the midst of the trees and do not talk to me ?— You appear to be joking ! But why do you disregard me ?— Oh Lakṣmaṇa, have you seen Sītā ? ... ”

In this way he wailed and wandered like a madman. Then it suddenly struck him that Sītā had a madness for forest wanderings.¹⁶ Obviously she might have gone to a lake or river or dale—he thought. So both (the brothers) searched the whole forest ; but all was of no avail.

Rāma then fell in a swoon ; and after some time again began to talk irrelevantly : ‘ Oh Sītā, you are certainly playing a practical joke with me ! you have concealed yourself in the Aśoka flowers and so I am not able to see you... ’ Then he thought of the possibility of (some day) returning to Ayodhyā without Sītā. ‘ How shall I now enter my chamber, void of Sītā ? People will dub me as cowardly and cruel ! ’¹⁷ How

15. Cf. अशोक शोकापनुद् शोकोपहतचेतनम् ।

त्वन्नामानं कुरु क्षिप्रं प्रियासंदर्शनेन माम् ॥ —ibid 60. 18.

16. प्रियकाननसंचारा वनोन्मत्ता च मैथिली ।

सरितं वापि संप्राप्ता मीनवञ्जुलसेविताम् । —ibid 61. 15, 6.

17. कथं नाम प्रवेक्ष्यामि शून्यमन्तःपुरं मम ।

निर्वार्य इति लोको मां निर्दयश्चेति वक्ष्यति ॥ —ibid 62. 11.

shall I be able to speak to Janaka when he will receive me after my return ? Without Sītā even Heaven is a void to me; hence Oh Lakṣmaṇa, give my message to Bharata to rule the Kingdom; convey my salutation to my mothers ...'

Rāma now blames himself for his former evil and again speaks in the following strain :

'Oh Āditya, thou seer of truth and falsehood of what people have done and not done, please tell me, sorrow-stricken as I am, where Sītā is gone ? Oh Vāyu, tell me whether she is taken away, dead or on her way somewhere !'

Lakṣmaṇa tried to console him, who now requests him to search for Sītā by the side of Godāvarī. He comes back disappointed. Now both of them start out for another search.

Rāma then asks the river Godāvarī about Sītā; but being afraid of Rāvaṇa she did not answer.¹⁸ Rāma, while wandering with Lakṣmaṇa, constantly asked him whether he would ever find Sītā.

The deer on the way appeared to look at Rāma as if they wanted to tell him something¹⁹ and when he constantly said so, the deer began to look towards the South, obviously suggesting Sītā's way : they looked at the sky too. The two brothers then took themselves to the South. On the way Rāma again questioned different trees, mountains, etc.; in the meanwhile, he suddenly saw some flowers, etc. fallen on the ground; he recognised them as those of Sītā; he then especially questioned the Prasravaṇa-mountain about Sītā (K. has actually used the Rām. śloka in 4.27 as noted above) and threatened it with destruction, if no answer was given. The poor mountain in a way answered (by pointing to the South) and in

18. रामः समभिचक्राम स्वयं गोदावरीं नदीम् ।
 स तामुपस्थितो रामः क्व सीतेत्येवमब्रवीत् ।
 रावणस्य च तद्रूपं कर्माणि च दुरात्मनः
 ध्यात्वा भयात्तु वेदेहीं सा नदी न शशंस ह ॥ *ibid* 64. 6, 9.

The so-called natural fallacy here of interpreting Godāvarī's natural silence as due to fear has a parallel in the Purūravas-scene also; cf. Vik. IV. 28, cf. further also Rām. 3.64, 32.

19. वक्तुकामा इव मे इक्षितान्युपलक्ष्ये । —*ibid* 64. 16.

a way did not (as it was silent)²⁰(this whole episode is later on concluded in the Rām. with Rāma's visit to the wounded Jaṭāyu, who gives him news about Sītā, which leads the epic narrative on to its further passage).

Exactly such²¹ a scene is presented by K. in Vik. IV. Of course, it is interesting to see what changes he has introduced in the original Purūravas-Urvaśī story; but that would only be relevant, if we were to consider the whole plot of Vik. as constructed by him. It is sufficient here to see the exact relation of Act IV to the main story, as it has been developed in the first three acts.²² Act I shows the meeting of Purūravas and Urvaśī, under very romantic circumstances. The gallant and heroic king frees Urvaśī from the attack of demon Keśin and she falls in love with her heroic saviour. The king also falls in love with her and Act II shows his love further intensifying. Urvaśī pays him a visit; but she has to go back to Heaven, especially to attend to her duties as an actress in a play composed and directed by sage Bharata. Act. III removes one difficulty in the path of the King's amour. The queen Auśīnarī most generously gives her consent to his love for Urvaśī. But this cannot bring back Urvaśī from her duties in Heaven. Love, however, itself solves the problem. Urvaśī, mad with love, while playing the heroine's part in Bharata's play wrongly called out the name of Purūravas instead of that of the hero proper! The sage-director gets angry with her and pronounces a curse on her whereby she

20. एवमुक्तस्तु रामेण पर्वतो मैथिलीं प्रति ।

दर्शयन्निव तां सीतां नादर्शयत राघवे ॥ —Rām. 3. 64. 32.

The author of the Rām. here, as almost everywhere in this scene, has shown that harmonious fusing of natural and human elements, which is also a special characteristic of Kālidāsa's poetry as pointed out by Prof. A. W. Ryder, Introduction p. XX to a "translation of Shakuntala and other works", Everyman's Library, reprint, London 1928.

21. A comparison of the preceding sketch of the Rāmāyaṇa episode with Vik. IV will perhaps leave no doubt regarding the striking parallelism between them.

22. For a more detailed and critical analysis of the same see 'Vikramorvaśīya—a study' by Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, The Journal of the Gangenath Jha Research Institute, Vol. I, pp. 123-137.

is to stay not in Heaven, but in the Mr̥tyuloka for a certain period ! But to love-mad Urvaśī, the curse serves as a blessing, because she is able to come back to Purūravas ! The two lovers are now quite happy. But their permanent union has not been secured so far and Fate separates them again. Here Act IV beings.

This separation is brought to the notice of the spectators by K. in a very delicate and effective manner. For that purpose he utilizes the short interlude (Praveśaka) to Act IV. Citralekhā and Sahajanyā, dear friends of Urvaśī, are casually conversing; Chitralkhā expresses great anxiety for Urvaśī and to the inquiry of Sahajanyā, she answers as follows :—

“Purūravas and Urvaśī had gone for love-sport to the Gandhamādana mountain which is *the* place for such enjoyment !²³ There, while sporting on the banks of the river Mandākinī, the king threw amorous glances at a beautiful nymph (Vidyādhari), at which Urvaśī naturally got irritated and in a fit of anger, disregarding the king's entreaties, entered the neighbouring forest of God Kumāra. According to a curse pronounced by that God a female entering it was to be transformed into a creeper! And that was the fate which Urvaśī also had to meet. The king suddenly found himself separated from her.” Sahajanyā blames inexorable Fate for this, and Citralekhā describes the king's condition as—

“All day and night he passions in that grove
Seeking her. And this cool advent of cloud
That turns even happy hearts to yearning pain
Will kill him ... ”.²⁴

The interlude ends with Sahajanyā's hopes for yet another intervention of Fate for a happy end and the spectators are introduced to the mad King wandering in a fit of sorrow and madness, where the 4th act proper begins.

23. Shri Aurobindo translates the original very beautifully; “O love is joy indeed, when in such spots, “Tested ...”.

Vide Vikramorvasie or The Hero and the Nymph—by Sri Aurobindo (2nd edition, Pondicherry, 1941). Further in this paper quotations from this metrical translation are used.

24. Sri Aurobindo, *ibid* p. 76.

It is very interesting to see the devices used by K. to make this separation scene a real dramatic success. To enhance the effect of the King's *viraha*, it is already suggested that it takes place on mount Gandhamādana, where separation is the more painful precisely because love can really be enjoyed there. Similarly the cause of this separation is very effectively presented. In the original R̥gvedic story Urvaśī leaves the king due to a very prosaic cause: she leaves because her agreement (*samvid*) with him is most probably over! In the other accounts of the story the causes belong more to the world of fairy tales. They could not have been suitable to a drama. In the Rām.-scene, the cause of Rāma's *viraha* is Sītā's being kidnapped by Rāvaṇa a *motif*, which could hardly have any scope in the present case.²⁵ Here, (i. e. in Vik. IV), however, K. has made Purūravas' character his destiny and has thus provided a suitable cause for separation. The king is over-romantic; he is attracted by a Vidyādhari even in the presence of his beloved: his love is not steady; hence Urvaśī goes away in a fit of jealousy and becomes a prey to the curse of Kumāra. Obviously the king's separation was well-merited. It has the force of almost a nemesis. And all this is so clear to the spectators, who have heard the subdued yet interesting conversation between Chitrālekḥā and Sahajanyā in the Praveśaka (to Act IV). This makes the scene the more effective and full of life. In the case of Rāma we feel extremely sorry for his sad fate; in the case of Purūravas we do feel for him yet with a little reserve; for, we subconsciously know why he suffers and thus the scene becomes more human. Of course, here too, K. uses a super-natural agency (in this case the curse-ridden forest); but whether the use of the super-natural is at all permissible in a drama is a problem by itself and cannot suitably be discussed here. But from the normal spectators' point of view, especially of those of K.'s period, such supernatural agencies add more to the element of surprise in a play and there exactly such devices gain dramatic

25. It is to be remembered that one such incident already forms part of the plot (of Urvaśī being attacked by the demon Keśin in Act I) and its repetition would be tiresome.

interest. K., in addition, introduces in the scene one of his favourite devices viz., the atmosphere of clouds, which is most conducive to the development of *śṛṅgāra* according to ancient Indian conventions. The suddenness of the king's separation, especially when he was in the very midst of the deepest enjoyment of his love—it was *dūrārūḍha*—now excites real sympathy especially in the midst of the atmosphere of the dark love-exciting clouds.

To add to it K. uses some of his best poetry in portraying the king's sentiments. His stanzas not only express the love sentiment in the most touching manner but they also add to the scenic effect. What Sylvain Lévi says about the Ślokas in the Śākuntala, can be said about those sung by the king in Vik. "Their (i. e. of Duṣṣanta and his charioteer) picturesque and descriptive stanzas suggest such a décor to the imagination, as even painting will be unable to trace!"²⁶ Of course, the literary excellence of these ślokas is most striking; here we are chiefly concerned with their dramatic quality. Kālidāsa has infused into his mere words such suggestion and such architectural beauty as give to the whole situation a fine scenic effect: one can well feel it as one hears them sung by a real actor.

The king now enters, shouting against the cloud, mistaking it to be a demon attempting to kidnap Urvaśī. K. here succeeds in showing a remarkable continuity in the king's character: even when he is mad, he remembers his first meeting with Urvaśī—how he freed her from the clutches of the Demon Keśin. The incident was deep-rooted in his subconscious; and he now suspects that the same catastrophe is repeating itself. This illusion is very beautifully suggested in the very first stanza. In the Meghadūta, K. had some difficulty in making the Yakṣa conceive the cloud as a messenger; and he actually justifies the action with his famous कामार्ता हि

26. The original French given below is quoted by Prof. Ryder (*ibid* p. 104) ... "leurs stances pittoresques et descriptives suggèrent à l'imagination un décor que la peinture serait impuissante à tracer". —Le Théâtre Indien, pp. 368-371.

प्रकृतिकृपणाश्चेतनाचेतनेषु.²⁷ But here no such attempt is necessary. The king is love-mad; he had already seen one demon attacking Urvaśī; it is just natural that this should be his first suspicion when he wanders in search of her. It is thus the very character of Purūravas,²⁸ which makes this one-character scene so harmonious, yet so full of life and movement.

Now comes the main part of the king's wandering similar to those of Rāma. Both of them talk to Nature—animate and inanimate. A study of how K. has turned this situation into a dramatic scene would give us a real insight into his dramatic genius. He has succeeded in constructing such a harmonious scene (out of what merely appears to be a tedious incident) as baffles analysis into parts; still, for the sake of discussion we can conveniently mark out four different phases in this unique single-character scene, as opposed to the long narrative of the Rām. Firstly, we see the king talking or almost raving under the influence of the cloud atmosphere already suggested; then, we see him addressing different kinds of animals, his speeches all the while giving a delicate suggestion about Urvaśī's beauty which obviously the king could not forget even in his madness; thirdly, the coming reunion is delicately suggested and fourthly, we see the forlorn lover actually united with his beloved.

4. 1-7 mark the first phase. 'The king realises that the demon flying with Urvaśī is only the cloud with the lightning, †. 1 (K. indulges here in his favourite conceit of comparing beauty with the flash of lightning). Obviously a search for Urvaśī now becomes necessary; the rainy season with its long days makes the separation most unbearable (4. 3). But Purūravas does not forget that he is a King (4. 4) and he wants to command the clouds to disappear! But, ironically enough, the Kadalī plants, sprouting under the cloud's influence, with

27. Pūrva-Megha, st. 5.

28. In the Rām.-scene the disappearance of Sītā comes as a bolt from the blue; it has no psychological relation with the character of Rāma. Besides, his madness also can only be attributed to his extremely sensitive love. K. takes here the help of the cloud-atmosphere to justify the extreme nature of the king's *Viraha*.

their red flowers full of water-drops remind him of Urvaśī's red eyes full of tears (4.5) ! Search is now the more imperative and he immediately finds a clue : Urvaśī's green breast-garment appears to have fallen on the ground, while she ran away from him ; but alas ! it is only a forest green studded with the red rainy insects (4.7) ! He must now inquire with somebody if Urvaśī was seen while going away in anger ! (As contrasted with Rām. we can see here how K. uses the paraphernalia of rain to infuse the scene with movement.)

Here the second phase—the addresses to objects in nature starts ! (cf. 4. 8-27). K. makes the scene lively by delineating the so called '*Unmāda*'—the king's madness! Here also the king's addresses to different animals etc. make for variety and give excellent movement to the action ! (The Rām.-stanzas, in spite of their simplicity, appear to be stereotyped, and without any real movement: they are a bit pedantic too; cf. Rām. 3.60.18 etc.). The addresses to different objects etc. and the devices used to show the king's passage from one object to another show the working of the same genius, which makes the rather formal royal introductions of Sunandā to Indumatī (in Raghu. VI, 21-79) full of life, variety and interest. We need not enter into a detailed analysis of these different stanzas; but they build the kernel of this unique scene. We do not know how far aids to scenic effect were contemplated by K., but this part of the scene affords excellent opportunities for the display of stage-decoration. If beautiful birds and animals like the peacock, the cuckoo, the swan, the elephant etc., which are the king's addressees, were to be shown on the stage in their sylvan setting, they would certainly not fail to attract and entertain that part of the audience which crave for such things. Besides, this part of the scene—indeed the whole scene—affords excellent scope for histrionic talent. And all this is accompanied by some of the most beautiful ślokas in the Vaidarbhī mode *par excellence*. Further they are so arranged that slowly and slowly they leave back the rainy atmosphere of the deeper forest; thus, if 4.8-20 are occupied with the paraphernalia of the cloud such as the peacock, cuckoo etc., now onwards

(4.22-25) the king turns to normal forest objects like the tree, the elephant and so on. In 4-25 he again remembers that he is a king and as such he addresses the elephant-chief (Nāgādhirāja) but he receives no answer and now he puts a question to the mountain 'Surabhikandara';²⁹ the latter does not hear, it seems; so he goes further and asks about Urvaśī with the words सर्वक्षितिभृतां नाथ etc. (4-27. occurring with slight variation in Rām. 3.64.29, 30). The stanza is very cleverly worded and the echo of the king's words "दृष्टा,.....मया विरहिता, त्वया?" (which are to be taken as interrogative under the influence of the so-called 'Kāku' or change in intonation) coming back from the mountain, as it were, form an answer viz. "दृष्टा, मया, त्वया विरहिता," which gives a delicate suggestion about the possibility of Urvaśī being found out. It is indeed remarkable to see how K. presses this śloka from the Rām. into excellent dramatic service! the word 'Kaccit' from the Rām.-stanza could not have suited when the echo had to be interpreted as the mountain's answer to the king. Hence K. cleverly changes it into सर्वक्षितिभृताम् etc. which is, moreover, quite suitable to the King's habit of addressing other 'Kings' (cf. his address to the Nāgādhirāja referred to above).

We now come to the third phase of the scene. The mountain echo appears to free the king a little from his madness and he questions the mountain, "(If thou hast seen her), where then is she?"³⁰ He now feels tired and comes to a river, which, hurrying to the sea, creates the illusion of Urvaśī going away! And the king prostrates himself at the feet of his beloved; but soon he realises his mistake. As pointed out above the signs of reunion are now delicately introduced. The king suspects that the red Kadamba flower must have attracted Urvaśī in that direction (4-30). This is symbolical of the Sangamanīyamāṇī or the red gem of union to be introduced presently. Wandering further the king espies something red (4-34), which he mistakes for a red Aśoka

29. In the Rām. the mountain is called *Prasavaṇa*.

30. "क तर्हि प्रियतमा?" are the king's actual words.

flower and which, being only useful as an ornament for Urvaśī's hair, has no more use for him. But an unseen sage tells him to take up that 'red thing' which is nothing but a jewel, originated³¹ out of the red dye used by Goddess Pārvatī, which has the unique power of joining separated lovers.³²

Here moreover, K. has shown remarkable restraint in the use of his artistic paraphernalia. He does not show the union as taking place immediately. Purūravas is still under the influence of *Unmāda*; with a highly dramatic address he accepts the jewel and, going forward, is immediately attracted by a creeper and mistaking it for Urvaśī, he cries out in ecstasy the words "अथवा स्थाने मनोरमा समेयम्" and thus very delicately expresses his illusion about the creeper being his beloved (4.38). [Incidentally, this is another of K.'s mannerisms according to which beautiful ladies are likened to tender creepers.] And as an effect of the Sangamaniya, the king, while embracing the creeper, actually feels the sensation of having embraced Urvaśī! But still he cannot believe in his own senses; "तथापि न पुनरस्ति विश्वासः" says he. This utterance of his makes the whole wandering scene a reality—for it makes clear that the king still remembers the many disappointments, which he met at each step beginning with his first utterance 'कनकनिकषस्निग्धा विद्युत्प्रिया न समोर्वशी' (4.1).

Further, this doubt, as to whether he actually embraced Urvaśī or not makes the actual union, with Urvaśī's greeting 'जेदु जेदु महाराजो' the more enjoyable and dramatically effective! K. is here rather too liberal in the use of his supernatural agency: Urvaśī, though transformed into a creeper, had watched the king's sorrow and deep feeling for her with inward senses.³³ This makes the union the more abiding, as it is so well reciprocated.

31. Note the beautiful words शैलसुताचरणरागयोनिरयम् (4.36).

32. Here again the supernatural is pressed into dramatic service. As pointed out above the problem as to how far it should be used requires independent treatment. But in this particular situation as elsewhere, it adds the element of surprise to the scene and the holy name of Pārvatī in a way assures the final union.

33. She was अभ्यन्तरकरणा.

Really speaking the 4th act should end here. But having reached the crescendo, the melody cannot suddenly end, unless it now softens down. Hence, by way of close, a short explanatory conversation between the two lovers regarding the story of Urvaśī's transformation into a creeper etc., is introduced. K., perhaps a bit artificially, creates another opportunity for scenic display by way of a final dramatic touch. Suggesting to the king to go back to his own people after his long absence, Urvaśī, conscious of her supernatural powers, asks him as to what conveyance he would choose for the purpose. This is his desire :

“ O waft me

Nearer the Sun and make a cloud our chariot
While lightning, like a steaming banner floats,
Now seen, now lost to vision, and the rainbow
With freshness of its glory iridescent
Edges us. In thine arms uplift and waft me,
Beloved, through the wide and liquid air.”³⁴

The curtain now falls while the two lovers are carried away in a gorgeous aeroplane of clouds, shining with lightning and rain-bow. After this, from the point of view of the entire plot, only one thing remains : for though this act shows the lovers' reunion, the final and permanent gaining of Urvaśī, dependent on God Indra's will, is to be achieved in the fifth and the last act.

Before we conclude, we must, however, dispose of one criticism against the whole of Vikramorvaśīyam in general and Act IV in particular. The original Ṛgvedic legend of Urvaśī has a tragic end; in the Ṛgveda she leaves Purūravas and tells him to remain alone. K. has given it a happy end. Prof. Ryder disapproves of this and remarks :³⁵ “This splendid tragic story Kalidasa has ruined”. Can we not say that this is an opinion expressed from a particular point of view only ? The ancient Indians never tolerated a tragedy—even the later versions of Urvaśī's story have a happy end

34. Shri Aurobindo, *ibid.* 93 f.

35. Ryder, *ibid.* p. 119.

—and it was perhaps not possible for K. to over-ride this rather unsurmountable convention. Perhaps he himself might have believed in it too ! Prof. Ryder does not quite like the character of Urvaśī. “Urvaśī is too much of a nymph to be a woman and too much of a woman to be a nymph”, he observes.³⁶ He is right. But then the Indian spectators, for whom K. wrote, never bothered about the difference between natural and supernatural. As in the Śākuntala, so here in Urvaśī too, the supernatural forms one of the essential and irremovable elements of the plot, and we may blame K. for the choice of such a plot and such characters, but we cannot blame him for his execution, once the presence of the supernatural element is granted as being of the very essence of the story. Of course, to modern taste this constant presence of the supernatural may appear to create an atmosphere of unreality. But barring that, in all other respects, purely from the point of view of the theatre, the fourth act can be pronounced to be a definite success. Kālidāsa has so timed the scene as to make it the centre of the performance, when the audience, with its respectable members still present in the theatre, is really in a mood to enjoy it. Besides, the scene gives excellent scope for song, dance and scenic display. The character of Purūravas as a romantic and desperate lover is very well brought out in the conventional atmosphere of the rainy season; and all this is couched in such excellent poetry as would, with its sheer music, its very words, hold any audience spell bound.³⁷ The act, a trifle static at the beginning, gains in movement and life as it approaches its end.

36. Ryder, *ibid*, 119.

37. No apology is perhaps here needed if on the subject of the importance of poetry in a drama, a quotation from a novel by W. Somerset Maugham, who is himself a successful dramatist, is here given. Regarding Racine's play ‘Bérénice’ especially the grand verses therein, he says, “Racine knew, as few have done, how much drama is contained in the human voice. To me at all events the roll of those melifluous Alexandrines is a sufficient substitute for action ... ”—*The Razor's Edge*, p. 220. We can add, Kālidāsa also knew the value of human voice in his play; the many stanzas sung by Purūravas are not only a substitute for action, but moreover they heighten it.

The king suspecting the river to be Urvaśī, his getting the union-gem, embracing the creeper, his actual meeting with Urvaśī, their reassurance of mutual love, and their final exit in a gorgeous plane—all these incidents in the final stages of the act show the hand of one, who knew when and how to speed up dramatic action. This and other similar considerations show beyond doubt that K. wrote his plays not merely as literature but as dramas to be presented on the stage and when we study his dramatic technique, as revealed by the various devices and situations created by him to dramatise the unmāda of Purūravas, especially in comparison³⁸ with the treatment of a parallel episode by the great author of the Rāmāyaṇa, we are in a position to appreciate the quality of his dramatic genius, which shines out here in Act IV side by side with his poetic powers.

38. The Rāmāyaṇa episode, summarized in this paper, though poetic, is entirely monotonous; (perhaps that was inevitable in an epic); while, as shown above, K. has presented the same in four well-marked stages, which are a credit to his inventive genius.

ABDALA RAHAMĀNA'S SAMDEŚARĀSAKA AND JĀYASĪ'S PADUMĀVATĪ

BY PROF. H. C. BHAYANI

One interested in studying the multifarious aspects of the mutual cultural influence engendered by the Hindu-Muslim contact during the Mohammedan period of the Indian History would find that the literature of those times was a domain in which the contact had brought forth harmonious results. Literature of the Hindi group of dialects during the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the sixteenth century of the Christian era reveals some noteworthy names of Muslim poets, mystics and romancers—Amīr Khusrau, Mullā Dāūd, Kabīr, Qutuban, Jāyasī and others—who had adopted the then current Hindu literary mode, style and traditions in composing their works. The mystico-religious poetry and love-stories of some of these writers are characteristically permeated with Sufistic thoughts and beliefs.

Recently a work in Late Apabhramśa has been published* which allows us to push back by approximately one century or so, the date of the first known Muslim contribution to Indian literature. Abdala Rahamāna (or, to give the vernacular form, Addahamāna), the author of the beautiful love poem *Samdeśarāsaka* is tentatively placed, on good grounds, by Muni Shri Jinavijayaji about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era. The poem belongs to the class of Samdeśakāvyaś. It is of a non-religious—purely literary character. Its language is a late form of Apabhramśa, revealing a strong Old Western Rājasthānī influence. Abdala Rahamāna appears to have lived for a considerable time, if not actually born, at Multān (ancient Mūlasthāna, Mūlatthāṇu), for in the poem he draws a glorious picture of that city.

* Jinavijaya Muni and H. C. Bhayani : *Samdeśa Rāsaka of Abdala Rahamāna*, SJS, XXII, Bombay 1945.

The theme of the *Samdeśa-rāsaka* is quite simple and slight. Through a traveller from Multān passing through Vijayanagara (or Vikramapura, at present in the Jesulmere State) en route to Khambhāitta (modern Khambhāt, anglicized Cambay), a lady sends a message to return to her husband, who has since one year gone on business to Khambhāt with a promise to return early, but from whom she had not even heard so far. The moment the traveller leaves with the message, the lady sees on the way her husband, returning, which supplies a happy sequel to the poem.

Evidently *vipralambha*, love-in-separation, is here the chosen subject of treatment. It is the single note in the poem played with multiple variations. In executing his task the poet has acquitted himself quite creditably. The poem reveals some originality of conception, natural power of observation, and pointedness and vigour of expression: the characteristics suggestive of no mean literary talent. The style is racy, direct, uninvolved. Skilful variation and blending as also the device of creating suspense have successfully lifted the poem above the obvious danger of monotony and insipidity consequent upon the handling of a hackneyed theme of very limited possibilities.

The significant and effective employment of 22 different Apabhramsa and Prakrit metres within the range of some 220 stanzas is an eloquent index to the metrical skill of the poet. Of course, here one would look in vain for the gorgeous imagery or subtle play of poetic fancy weaving a rich tapestry of words and ideas. But there is no point in expecting such things, as the character and conception of the *Samdeśa-rāsaka* do not lend themselves to elaborate or ornate artistic treatment. The poet himself has made it abundantly clear that his is not in any way an ambitious undertaking. He considers his effort more than sufficiently rewarded if the poem can afford pleasure to a person of average artistic sensibility. And one would not find any difficulty in immediately admitting that within the modest compass of the artistic horizon which he has set his poetic talent to scan, he has

attained charming success. Granting his being directly influenced to some extent by the earlier and contemporaneous literatures, there is yet enough in the poem to impart to its reader the lingering impression of freshness and originality.

Above all, for the second part of the poem, consisting of the exquisite descriptions of the six seasons shot through with the piercing wails of a *Virahinī*, no earlier model or sufficiently near parallel appears to be forthcoming. Each season is pictured with a partly first-hand, partly conventional, selection of its striking phenomena. But the pictures do not consist of mere objective descriptions. Photographic representation eschewing blending of personal emotions is lifeless and has little significance for art. The depiction of the varying moods of nature comes to possess altogether a different meaning and value, when they are related to the mental conditions of some character. This method of treatment has also the advantage of imparting convincing relevance and unity to the nature-descriptions. In the *Samdeśarāsaka* the changing seasonal phenomena are viewed from the subjective angle of a lady-in-separation. Hence this part of the poem is but a record of the responses of a mental frame, sensitive and suffering, to the periodic changes in nature, the effect being heightened by a sustained contrast with the description of the happy state of those enjoying love-in-union.

Neither in the *Ṛtusamhāra*, nor in the season descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Śisupālavadha* we find anything so full, so living. The Meghadūta was evidently one of our poet's sources of inspiration. But it deals with only one season. Later on the subject has become very popular as is evidenced by its tiring recurrence—mostly in its variant form the *Bāramāsi Kāvya*, in the early Vernacular literature.

As the poet himself tells us of his fame in the field of Prākṛit poetry, we can credit him with the authorship of more than one work over and above the *Samdeśarāsaka*.

A poet of such remarkable achievements is bound to influence more or less the literary efforts of his immediately succeeding generations. It is possible to point out at least one probable case of Abdala Rahamāna's influence. The nature-descriptions (in the *Ṣad-ṛtu-varṇana Khaṇḍa* and the *Nāga-mati-Viyoga-Khaṇḍa*) in the *Padumāvatī* of the well-known Awadhī poet Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī (first half of the 16th century) at several places strongly remind us of the corresponding passages in the *Samdeśarāsaka*. The difference between the two in scope and execution is patent, but the correspondence of certain ideas and expressions is striking. Unless we explain it away by assuming a common source on which both the authors of those works depended, the conclusion is inevitable that in dealing with the topic in question Jāyāsī has at places reproduced his impressions of reading the *Samdeśarāsaka*. Apart from the topic of the description of the six seasons, there are some other points of resemblance also. And the fact also that both of them were Muslim poets essaying Hindu literary types has some pertinence in the present connection.

Following passages from the corresponding portions of the *Samdeśarāsaka* and the *Padumāvatī* will be found to bear notable resemblance to one another.

Samdeśarāsaka

1. धिदु ण पचु पिउ ।

My shameless husband
did not arrive. (139b)

पिउ परएसि रहिउ ।

The loved one stayed
abroad. (159 d)

धुचु णाहु दुरंतरिउ

That rogue of my lord
was as ever far off.
(192b)

Padumāvatī

1. कंत न फिरे, विदेसहि मूले ।

My husband does not
return ; he is lost
abroad. (30, 7, 7b)

अच्छिहि जिह संनिहि घरि कंतय,
रच्छिहि रमिहि ति ।

Those whose husband is
near them at home, sport
in the streets. (167 a)

अच्छिहि जिह नारिहि नर
रमिरइ ।

Those ladies whose hus-
band is sporting. (174a)

2. जिन्ह घर कन्ता ऋतु मली

To them whose husbands
are at home, this season
appears nice. (29, 5, 8 a)

एहि ऋतु कंता पास जेहि
सुख तेहि के हिय माँह ।

Those whose husband is
near them during this
season feel happy in their
hearts. (29, 8, 8 a.)

जिन्ह घर कन्ता ते सुखी

They are happy whose
husband is at home. (30,
4, 8a)

जेहि घर पियु सो मनोरथ पूजा ।

Their cherished hopes
are fulfilled whose hus-
band is at home. (30, 8. 7a.)

अच्छइ घरि वारि गीउ रवन्नउ
एगु इकहु कहु मह दिन्नउ ।

There was charming music
in every home. But for
my lot was the amassed
misery only. (180 cd)

महु इकह परि पहिय णिवेहिय
बम्हजुय ।

But for me alone, O
Traveller, was fixed the
Brahma's Eon. (189d)

3. बिरहकाल मोहि दीन्ह ।

To my lot falls the
period of separation. (30,
1. 8b,)

जेहि घर पिउ सो मनोरथ पूजा,
सो कहँ बिरह ।

Those whose husband is
at home, have their che-
rished hopes fulfilled.
(But) for me there is
(only) separation. (30,
8, 7)

करहि बनसपति हिये हुलासू
सो कहँ भा जग दून उदासू ।

The heart of the Flora is
full of mirth. But for

4. किं तहि देसि नहु फुरइ
 जुन्ह णिसि णिम्ल चंदह ।
 अह कलरउ न कुणंति
 हंस फलसेवि रविंदह ।
 अह पायउ णहु पढइ
 कोइ सुललिय पुण राइण ।
 अह पंचउ णहु कुणइ
 कोइ कावालिय भाइण ॥
 महमहइ अहव पच्चूति णहु
 ओससिउ घणु कुसुमभरु ।
 अह मुणिउ पहि अणरसिउ पिउ
 सरइ समइ जु न सरइ घरु ।
 Does not limpid moon-
 light stream at night in
 that country? Are there
 no swans feeding on
 lotus fruits and cackling
 sweetly? Is there nobody
 who recites Prakrit poems
 in a graceful voice or a
 Kāpālīka (tramp) who
 movingly releases the
 Pañcama note? Does not
 the early dawn there be-
 come redolent of bloom-
 ing flowers? O Traveller,
 but I have come to know
 that as even in the autumn
 my husband is not re-
 minded of his home, he is
 surely a man void of
 taste. (183)

me the world has become
 doubly gloomy. 30, 12, 4.

मोहि तन लाइ दीन्हि जस होरी
 As if consuming fire is
 applied to my body.
 (30, 12, 5)

4. नहिँ पावस ओहि देसरा
 नहिँ हवंत बसंत ।
 ना कोकिल न पपीहरा
 जेहि सुनि आवै कंत ॥

Is there no rains in that
 country, no winter, no
 spring? Is there no
 Koel or no rain-bird
 hearing whom the loved
 one needs come home?
 (30, 19, 8)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>5. तिणि सूडिय झडि करि
असेस तहि तरुय गय ।
Being blasted by it, all
the trees shed their
leaves. (192d)
छाय-फुल्ल-फल-रहिय
(The trees) were depriv-
ed of their shade, flowers
and fruits. (193a)
उज्जाणहँ ढंखर इअ
सोसिय कुसुमवण
Park (-trees) were re-
duced to stumps. Flower-
gardens withered. (193d)</p> | <p>5. तरिवर झरहिँ झरहिँ बन-डाखा ।
Trees shed leaves ;
forest trees shed leaves.
(30, 12, 3)</p> |
| <p>6. साहारु (c) णाहु ण सहार अंगि ।
Only my lord, and not the
Sahakāra tree, can still
be a support to my
body. (211d.)</p> | <p>6. मोहिँ बिनु पिउ को आदर देई
Who in the absence of
my husband would wel-
come me ? (30, 4, 7b.)</p> |
| <p>7. चच्चरिहि गेउ झुणि करिवि तालु ।
णच्चियइ अपुण्व-वसंतकालु ॥
The vernal season is
spent in dancing and so-
norously singing Carcaris
with the time-beat. (219ab)</p> | <p>7. फागु करहिँ सब चाँचरि जोरि
Gathering together all
perform Fāgu and Car-
cari. (30, 12, 51a)</p> |
| <p>8. * तइया णिवडंत-णिवेसियाई
संगमइ जत्थ णहु हारो ।
इन्हिँ सायर-सरिया-गिरि-तरु-
दुग्गाई अंतरिया ॥</p> | <p>8. मनसौं मन, तनसौं तन गैहा
हियसौं हिय, बिच हार न रहा ।
The mind clasped the
mind, the body clasped</p> |

cf. हारो नारोपितः कण्ठे मया विच्छेपभीक्ष्णा ।

इदानीमन्तरे जाताः सरित्सागर भूधराः ॥

—Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, p. 283 ; Hanumannāṭaka, V 25, p. 80.

At that time we embraced so closely that even the neclace was not (suffered to obstruct) the union, but now ocean, rivers, mountains, trees and castles are lying between us ! (93)

the body, the heart clasped the heart. Even the necklace did not intervene. (29, 9, 3)

परबत, समुद्र, अगम बिच,
बीहड घन वनढाँख ।

In between lie impassable mountains, ocean as also dense wilderness. (30, 5, 8a)

9. Beginning

रयणायर-धर-गिरि-तरुवराडूँ
गयणंगणमि रिक्खाडूँ ।

जेणऽज सयल सिरियं
सो बुहयण वो सिवं देउ ॥

माणुस्स-दिव्व-विज्जाहरेहिँ
गहमग्गि सुर-ससि-बिंबे ।

आएहिँ जो णमिज्जइ
तं णयरे णमह कत्तारं ॥

He who has created all this: the ocean, earth, mountains, trees and heavenly bodies—may He, O wise ones, bless you. Bow down, O gentlemen, to that Creator to whom men, demigods and gods, as also the sun and the moon in the heavenly path pay obeisance. (1-2)

9. Beginning

सुमिरौं आदि एक करतारू ।
जेहि जिउ दीन्ह कीन्ह संसारू ॥
कीन्हैसि ग्रथम जोति परकासू ।
कीन्हैसि etc.

In the beginning I call to my heart the sole Creator, who imparted life and created the universe. He made manifest the first light. He created, etc.

(In: this manner it goes on for 4 Kaḍavakas or 30 lines giving a list of various things of the universe created by the Creator, all the lines beginning with कीन्हैसि) (1, 1-4)

10. जयउ अणाइ अणंतु ।

Victory to Him who is
without beginning, with-
out end. (223 g)

10. आदि एक बरनौ सोइ राजा ।
आदि न अंत राज जेहि छाजा ॥

In the beginning I des-
cribe that sole King, who
has neither beginning nor
end. (1, 6. 1)

The resemblance between the passages numbered 4 is quite striking. Apart from the above passages, the diction, phraseology and the treatment in general, in the third Prakrama of the *Samdeśarāsaka* and the *Saḍṛtu-varṇana Khaṇḍa* and the *Nāgamatī-Viyoga Khaṇḍa* of the *Padumāvatī* reveal an unmistakeable family-resemblance. Under these circumstances, it appears highly probable that Jāyasī knew and held in great regard the *Samdeśarāsaka* and other poems of Abdala Rahamāna.

PSYCHOLOGY OF DREAM-PHENOMENA IN VEDIC PHILOSOPHY

BY ENRICO GERARDO CARPANI

Twelve years ago the founder of psycho-analysis—
Sigmund Freud—sent to me the following letter :—

PROF. Dr. FREUD

WIEN IX. , Berggasse 19

May 16th 1935.

Dear Dr. Carpani,

I am enjoying the fact that you have found so important a field for your activity in the study of Indian philosophy and religion... Ancient India has remained a dark continent for me. I never felt tempted to intrude into that puzzling labyrinth.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) Freud

The great Austrian scientist is right. Ancient India is a dark continent for him because he judges by appearances. But the Western science of the Self, from a medical point of view, has not gone much beyond the Indian wisdom in this branch of knowledge. This is an irrefutable fact that Prof. Freud does not know.

In Chāndogya- and Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣads—two beautiful gems of the Vedic literature—we find a few passages referring to the psychology of dream-phenomena and oneiric states. The psychology that we find in the Chāndogya- seems to have an important development in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad. The following quotations will shortly show the significance of some passages between the two texts, according to the wisdom of the Vedic philosophers.

1. *ya eṣa swapne mahīyamānaś carati, eṣa ātmā,...etad amṛtam abhayam, etad brahma iti.* (ChU. 8, 10. 1) ¹
2. *Katama ātmā iti. yo 'yaṁ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu, hṛdy-antarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ, sa samānaḥ sann ubhau lokāv anusaṁ-carati. dhyāyati iva, lelāyati iva, sa hi, swapno bhūtvā, imaṁ lokam atikrāmati, mṛtyo rūpāṇi.* (BĀU. 4, 3. 7) ²

By the proper selection of the above quoted material for interpretation we achieve a continuity in the analysis. We

1. "He who moves about happy in a dream—he is the Self (Ātman), ...That is the immortal, the fearless. That is Brahma." (Hume)

2 "Which is the Soul? — The person here who among the senses is made of knowledge, who is the light in the heart. He, remaining the same, goes along both worlds, appearing to think, appearing to move about, for upon becoming asleep he transcends this world and the forms of death," (Hume) According to Hume ('The Philosophy of the Upanishads' in *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 48-49) "The pleasant dreams of sleep, rather than the hampered waking consciousness, were.....tentatively accepted as characteristic of the unlimited Self; but, because of the fact of unpleasant dreams, they were rejected in favour of the bliss of dreamless sleep, where even the duality of subject and object that is foreign to the essential nature of the unitary Self is melted away. — But even that condition of profound sleep from which one wakes refreshed—back, however, into diversity and into the limitation of the waking consciousness—seems too near the unreality of the illusory egohood which is conscious of falsely apparent objects and subjects." See also Emile Senart, *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, Paris, 1934.

According to Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad, the dreaming state (*swapna-sthāna*) is inwardly cognitive :

स्वप्नस्थानोऽन्तः प्रज्ञः सप्ताङ्ग एकोनविंशतिमुखः

प्रविविक्तमुक्तैजसो द्वितीयः पादः ॥ ४ ॥

"The dreaming state, inwardly cognitive, having seven limbs, having nineteen mouths, enjoying the exquisite, the Brilliant, is the second fourth." (Hume). Śaṅkara refers (according to seven limbs) to the enumeration of the several parts of the universal Self at ChU. 5, 18. 2. *Nineteen mouths* : Śaṅkara explains this to mean the five organs of sense (*buddhindriya*) : hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell ; the five organs of action (*karmendriya*) : speech, handling, locomotion, generation and excretion ; the five vital breaths (*prāṇa*), the sensorium (*manas*), the intellect (*buddhi*), egoism (*ahaṁkāra*) and thinking (*citta*).

thus not only understand the manifestations of the Self but can follow the logical development of its transference. Our thought is facilitated by the fact that the Self manifestations make their appearance in a logical sequence which is determined by the history and structure of analytical researches.

There are two conditions : the condition of being in this world and the condition of being in the other world. There is an intermediate third condition : that of being in sleep (dream). By standing in this intermediate condition one sees both those conditions : being in this world and being in the other world..... :

3. *tasya vā etasya puruṣasya dve eva sthāne bhavataḥ, idaṃ ca paralokasthānaṃ ca ; sandhyam tṛtīyaṃ svapnasthānaṃ. Tasmin sandhye sthāne tiṣṭhan, ubhe sthāne paśyati, idaṃ ca paralokasthānaṃ ca. atha yathā ākramo 'yaṃ paralokasthāne bhavati, tam ākramam ākramya, ubhayān pāpmana ānandamś ca paśyati. Sa yatra prasvapiti, asya lokasya sarvāvato mātṛam apādāya, svayaṃ vihatya svayaṃ nirmāya, svena bhāsā svena jyotiṣā prasvapiti ; atra ayaṃ puruṣaḥ jyotir bhavati.* (BĀU. 4, 3.9) ³

The BĀU. throws light on the most important theoretical question in psycho-analysis as to the structure, function and genesis of the Self. According to psycho-analysts, this "something", the "id" is a physical reality of a cosmic nature. This reality is a visible, measurable and applicable

3. "Verily, there are just two conditions of this person : the condition of being in this world and the condition of being in the other world. There is an intermediate third condition, namely, that of being in sleep. By standing in this intermediate condition one sees both those conditions, namely being in this world and being in the other world. Now whatever the approach is to the condition of being in the other world, by making that approach one sees the evils (of this world) and the joys (of yonder world). When one goes to sleep, he takes along the material (*mātra*) of this all-containing world, himself tears it apart, himself builds it up, and dreams by his own brightness, by his own light. Then this person becomes self-illuminated. " (Hume)

energy of cosmic power. The Freud's "id" is identical with the "entelechy" of Aristotle. The term "id", expresses, in a metaphysical sense, the fact that there is in the biosystem a "something" the functions of which are determined outside of the individual. The "bio-apparatus" represents nothing but a special state of concentrated Self energy. ⁴

4. *svaṇṇena śārīram abhiprahatya |
asuptaḥ suptān abhicāśīti ||
śukram ādāya punar aiti sthānam |
hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣa ekahaṃsaḥ* (BĀU. 4, 3. 11) ⁵
5. *prāṇena rakṣann avaram kulāyam |
bahiḥ kulāyād amṛtaś carivā ||
sa iyate amṛto yatrakāmam |
hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣa ekahaṃsaḥ ||* (BĀU. 4, 3.12) ⁶

4. See S. Freud, *Ich und Es*, Wien, 1923; *Das Unbewusste*. "Internationale Zeitschr. f. Psychoanalyse", III, 1915; *Zur Einführung des Narzissmus, Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse*. G. Groddeck, *Das Buch vom Es*. "Internat. Psychoan. Verlag", 1923. C. Jung, *L'Inconscience dans la vie normale et anormale*. Paris, 1928. — C. Blondel *La Conscience morbide*, Paris 1914. C. Jung, *Das Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte*, München, 1929. G. Coster, *Psycho-Analysis for Normal People*, London, 1932; *Yoga and Western Psychology*, London, 1934. C. Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, London, 1938. Wilhelm Reich, *Character Analysis* (Principles and Technique for Psychoanalysts in Practice and in Training); New York, 1945. W. Brown, *Mind Medicine, and Metaphysics*, London, 1938. C. Burt, *The Subnormal Mind*, London, 1937. K. Goldstein, *Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology*, London, 1940. J. Rosett, *The Mechanism of Thought, Imagery, and Hallucinations*, London, 1939. J. S. Moore and H. Garnee, *The Foundations of Psychology*, London 1933. J. Evola, *Maschera e Volto dello Spiritualismo Contemporaneo*, Torino, 1932,

5. "Striking down in sleep what is bodily,/ Sleepless he looks down upon the sleeping (senses)./ Having taken to himself light, there returns to his place,/ The golden person, the one spirit (haṃsa)"/(Hume).

6. "Guarding his low nest with the breath,/ The Immortal goes forth out of the nest,/ He goes where'er he pleases—the immortal,/ The golden person, the one spirit (haṃsa)"/(Hume).

6. *svapna anta ucca avacam iyamānaḥ |*
rūpāṇi devaḥ kurute bahūni ||
uta iva strībhiḥ saha modamānaḥ |
jakṣat uta iva ati bhayāni paśyan || (BĀU. 4, 3. 13)^r

- [.7. *ārāmam asya paśyanti |*
na taṃ paśyati kaś cana ||

*iti. taṃ na āyataṃ bodhayed ity āhuḥ ; durbhīṣajyaṃ ha
 asmai bhavati, yam eṣa na pratipadyate. atha u khalv
 āhuḥ : jāgaritadeśa eva asya eṣaḥ ; yāni hy eva jāgrat
 paśyati, tāni supta iti. atra ayaṃ puruṣaḥ svayaṃ jyotir
 bhavati. (BĀU. 4, 3, 14) ⁸*

It is interesting to consider what Dr. Bhagavan Das* says in his *Science of the Self* (foot—n. 1, pp. 58-59):—
 "...‘Dreams’ are ‘drama’-tisations of desires, moods, passions, emotions; thoughts, ideas, even so-called abstract ones (never wholly so), even systems of science, are directly or indirectly, clearly or vaguely, imaged settings for these, as the scenes of a drama are of the moods of the playwright." He affirms that "the Energy which constitutes the Relation between the Self and the Not-Self is naught else than the *Ch i ṭ ṭ a — b a l a* (Yoga-Bhāshya, iv. 10) or the *K ā m a — S a n k a l p a — S h a k ṭ i* (Mbh. and Purāṇas), the Mind or the Will—and—Imagination which appears between and connects Spirit and Matter." According to Dr. Das, there is the condition of *dream* (corresponding to *mind*) between

7. "In the state of sleep going aloft and alow,/ A god, he makes many forms for himself—/ Now, as it were, enjoying pleasure with women, / Now, as it were, laughing, and even beholding fearful sights."/(*Hume*).

8. "People see his pleasure-ground ;/ Him no one sees at all./ 'Therefore one should not wake him suddenly,'...Hard is the curing for a man to whom He does not return. Now some people say ; 'That is just his waking state; for whatever things he sees when awake, those too he sees when asleep.' (This is not so, for) there (i. e. in sleep) the person is self-illuminated." (*Hume*).

9. Bhagavan Das, *The Science of the Self*, Benares, 1938.

the conditions of *slumber* and *waking* (corresponding to *spirit* and *matter*). ¹⁰

8. *sa vā eṣa etasmin saṁprasāde ratvā caritvā dṛṣtvā eva puṇyaṁ ca pāpaṁ ca, punaḥ pratinyāyaṁ pratiyony ādravati swapnāya eva. sa yat tatra kiṁ cit paśyati, ananvāgatas tena bhavati ; asaṅgo hy ayaṁ puruṣa iti.* (BĀU 4, 3; 15)^{10bis}
9. *sa vā eṣa etasmin swapne ratvā caritvā dṛṣtvā eva puṇyaṁ ca, pāpaṁ ca, punaḥ pratinyāyaṁ pratiyony ādravati buddha antāya eva. sa yat tatra kiṁ cit paśyati, ananvāgatas tena bhavati ; asaṅgo hy ayaṁ puruṣa iti* (BĀU 4, 3. 16) ¹¹
10. *sa vā eṣa etasmin buddha ante ratvā caritvā dṛṣtvā eva puṇyaṁ ca pāpaṁ ca, punaḥ pratinyāyaṁ pratiyony ādravati swapna antāya eva.* (BĀU. 4, 3. 17) ¹²
11. *tad yathā mahāmatsya ubhe kūle anusaṁcarati, pūrvam ca aparaṁ ca, evam eva ayaṁ puruṣa etāv ubhāv antāv anusaṁ-*

10. According to Prof. P. K. Gode, the use of the term ' dhṛti ' in the Bhagavad-Gītā (XVIII, 33-35) " means a sort of mental energy which stabilizes any psychic state, intellectual or emotional..... ' dhṛti ' is a psychical counterpart of ' bala ' which pertains more to the physical and physiological side of the individual. We may render the term ' dhṛti ' into English by ' volitional energy ' or ' power of the will ' which is the very basis of human conduct." (P. K. Gode, Psychology of Emotions as Represented in the Bhagavadgītā, *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, 1924, p. 22.)

10bis. " Having had enjoyment in this state of deep sleep, having travelled around and seen good and bad, he hastens again, according to the entrance and place of origin, back to sleep. Whatever he sees there (i. e. in the state of deep sleep), he is not followed by it, for this person is without attachments." (Hume)

11. " Having had enjoyment in this state of sleep, having travelled around and seen good and bad, he hastens again, according to the entrance and place of origin, back to the state of waking. Whatever he sees there (i. e. in dreaming sleep); he is not followed by it, for this person is without attachments." (Hume)

12. " Having had enjoyment in this state of waking, having travelled around and seen good and evil, he hastens again, according to the entrance and place of origin, back to dreaming sleep." (Hume)

carati, svapna antaṃ ca buddha antaṃ ca. (BĀU. 4, 3. 18) ¹³

12. *tad yathā asminn ākāśe śyeno vā suparṇo vā viparipatya śrāntaḥ samhatya pakṣau samlayāya eva dhriyate, evam eva ayaṃ puruṣa etasmā antāya dhavati yatra supto na kaṃ cana kāmam kāmāyate, na kaṃ cana svapnam paśyati. (BĀU. 4, 3. 19) ¹⁴*

13. *tā vā asya etā hitā nāma nāḍyaḥ, yathā keśaḥ sahasradhā bhinnāḥ, tāvatānimnā tiṣṭhanti, śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇāḥ. atha yatra enaṃ ghnanti iva, jinanti iva, hasti iva vicchāyayati, gartam iva patati, yad eva jāgrad bhayaṃ paśyati, tad atra avidyayā manyate. (BĀU 4, 3. 20) ¹⁵*

Dr. Umesha Mishra ¹⁶ thinks that "the last form of wrong cognition is dream. When our sense-organs have

13. "As a great fish goes along both banks of a river, both the hither and the further, just so this person goes along both these conditions, the condition of sleeping and the condition of waking." (Hume)

14. "As a falcon, or an eagle, having flown around here in space, becomes weary, folds its wings, and is borne down to its nest, just so this person hastens to that state where, asleep, he desires no desires and sees no dream." (Hume)

15. "Verily, a person has those channels called *hita*; as a hair subdivided a thousand fold so minute are they, full of white blue, yellow, green, and red. Now when people seem to be killing him, when they seem to be overpowering him, when an elephant seems to be tearing him to pieces, when he seems to be falling into a hole—in these circumstances he is imagining through ignorance the very fear which he sees when awake." (Hume) Cf. *Praśna-Up. 4, 5* :—

अत्रैष दवः स्वप्ने महिमानमनुभवति । यदृष्टं दृष्टमनुपश्यति श्रुतं श्रुतमेवार्थमनु-
शृणोति देशदिगन्तरैश्च प्रत्यनुभूतं पुनः पुनः प्रत्यनुभवति दृष्टं चादृष्टं च श्रुतं चाश्रुतं
चानुभूतं चाननुभूतं च सच्चासच्च सर्वं पश्यति सर्वः पश्यति ॥

16. *Conception of Matter according to Nyāya—Vaiśeṣika* by Dr. Umesha Mishra, Allahabad, 1936. I am sorry, I have not been able to get a copy for inspection of Dr. Mishra's *Dream Theory in Indian Thought* (Allahabad University Studies) as it is out of print.

ceased to function, and the *Manas* has retired, then through the impressions of the sense-organs certain cognitions are produced during our half-sleeping state. These cognitions are known as dream cognitions." On pp. 148-149 of his learned publication he writes:—1st: "...the contact of the *Ātman* and the *Manas* alone is the real cause of cognition..."; 2nd: "...the *Manas* becomes separated from the *Ātman* during *suṣupti* when the former enters the *purītat*.—Both these points are inter-related. The *Ātman* being ubiquitous remains ever in contact with all the substances having limited form. The *Manas*, having a limited form, ever remains in contact with the *Ātman*. This being a fact, the cause of cognition, namely, the *Ātman* and the *Manas*-contact, being ever present, there should have been always some cognition or other, and that there should have been no *suṣupti* ever. Again, it is wrong to think that the *Manas* becomes separated from the *Ātman*, when the former enters the *purītat*; as if, the *Ātman*, in spite of its all-pervasive character, were absent from the *purītat*. Again the state of *suṣupti* cannot be denied; so that, we have to admit that the cause of cognition is really absent when the *Manas* enters the *purītat*. It has been seen above that the contact of the *Manas* with the *Ātman* cannot be absent even from the *purītat*; so that, it is essential to hold that the *Ātman* and the *Manas*-contact alone is not the cause of cognition.—Udayana puts it in just a different way. He says that cognitions take place only when the *Manas* is in contact with the external sense-organs; so that, during *suṣupti* when the *Manas* enters the *purītat*, although the *Ātman*-*Manas*-contact is present there, yet, as the *Manas* is not in contact with any of the external sense-organs, no cognition ever takes place. In the dreaming state, however, although the *Manas* is not directly in contact with any of the external sense-organs, yet cognitions do take place even then, as the previous impressions (*saṃskāras*) are aroused, and through the help of the remembrance of those previous deeds, dream-cognitions do appear. Regarding the arousing of the previous impressions, it is said that the continuity of activities of the external

sense-organs, though dull, is even then present, and through its help cognitions take place. Even, if it be denied, then we should say that, at least, the hot touch etc. of the organism are cognised through the sense-organ of touch, and which arouses the impressions, which in their turn, cause dream-cognitions. But, when even the contact of the organ of touch is done away with and the *Manas* enters the *purītat* then no cognition ever takes place.¹⁷ It is, therefore, that the tactile organ (*tvak*) and *Manas*-contact is assumed to be the general cause of cognition. This sense-organ is absent from the *purītat*, and hence, when the *Manas* enters into it, its contact with the tactile organ ceases. Hence, there is no cognition in the *susupti* state.¹⁸ The above argument makes it clear that the state of *susupti* is possible, even if it is held that the *Manas* is eternal and has limited form, and the *Ātman* is ubiquitous, and that they remain in contact with each other in the *purītat* also. Now, in spite of the fact that the *Manas* is ever in contact with the *Ātman*, the statement — “*ātmā manasā samyujyate*” etc. presupposes that the *Ātman* was not in contact with the *Manas* before, and that it has now come to join it. This apparent contradiction is removed when it becomes known that although the *Manas* is ever in contact with the *Ātman*, yet the former, which is in contact with the particular sense-organ, which, in its turn, is in contact with a particular object, is not always in contact with the *Ātman*.¹⁹ The part played by the external world can never be overlooked; nevertheless, it is through the consciousness of the Self that the knowledge of reality is obtained.¹⁹ All philosophies are

17. Kusumāñjaliprakaraṇa, pp. 344-346, 357-358; Bodhanī, pp. 96-99. (Quoted by Dr. Mishra.)

18. Nyāyasiddhāntamālā, on Kārikā 57, (quoted by Dr. Mishra,)

19. “We have been told”—says Mr. Sures Chandra Chakravarti (*The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 124)—“That the Upanishads contain not only the *Ātman* doctrine, but the germs as well of the other Indian systems, still no serious effort has been made to separate the doctrine of *Ātman*, the fundamental doctrine of the Upanishads, from the other philosophies which flourished during the Upanishad period.”

bound to be in a sense idealistic. Though the Vedic philosophy of the Self (*Ātman*) is highly idealistic, it should not be thought that the material world has not its place in it. The Vedic philosophers — regarding the Self, the essence, the innermost *substratum* of everything — is a psychological one. In ancient times, when Western scientific investigations were in their infancy, the Vedic philosophy played a very important part in widening the sphere of human knowledge.

I am of opinion that the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad contribution to the development of the Ātman psychology is very great; and the reader, when he has gone through the extracts from this Upaniṣad, would share my view.

14. *atha yā etā hṛdayasya nāḍyas, tāḥ piṅgalasya aṇimnas tiṣṭhanti, śuklasya nīlasya pītasya lohitasya iti. asau vā ādityaḥ piṅgalaḥ, eṣa śuklaḥ eṣa nīlaḥ, eṣa pītaḥ, eṣa lohitaḥ.* (CHU. 8, 6. 1)²⁰
15. *tad yathā mahāpatha ātata ubhau grāmau gacchati imaṃ ca amuṃ ca, evaṃ eva eta ādityasya rāsmaya ubhau lokau gacchanti imaṃ ca amuṃ ca. amuṣmād ādityāt pratāyante ta āsu nāḍīṣu srptāḥ, ābhyo nāḍībhyaḥ pratāyante te muṣminn āditye srptāḥ.* (CHU. 3, 6. 2)²¹
16. *tad yatra etat suptaḥ samastāḥ samprasannaḥ swapnam na vijānāti āsu tadā nāḍīṣu srpto bhavati. taṃ na kaś cana pāpma sprṣati, tejasā hi tadā sampanno bhavati.* (ChU. 8, 11.1)²²

20. "Now, as for these channels of the heart—they arise from the finest essence, which is reddish brown, white, blue, yellow, and red : so it is said. Verily, yonder sun is reddish brown ; it is white ; it is blue ; it is yellow ; it is red." (Hume)

21. "Now as a great extending highway goes to two villages, this one and the yonder, even so these rays of the sun go to two worlds, this one and the yonder. They extend from these channels, and creep into yonder sun." (Hume)

22. "Now when one is thus sound asleep, composed, serene, he knows no dream ; then he has crept into these channels ; so no evil touches him, for then he has reached the Bright Power (*tejas*)." (Hume)

17. *tad yatra etat suptah samastah samprasannah swapnam na vijānāti, eṣa ātmā...etad amṛtam abhayam, etad brahma iti.* (ChU. 8, 11.1) ²³

18. *evam eva eṣa samprasādo 'smāc śarīrāt samutthāya param jyotir upasampadya svena rūpeṇa abhinīṣpadyate. sa uttamah puruṣah, sa tatra paryeti, jakṣat kṛdān ramamāṇah strībhir vā yānair vā jñātībhir vā, na upajānaṁ smarann idaṁ śarīram. sa yathā prayogya ācaraṇe yuktaḥ, evam eva ayam asmiñ śarīre prāṇo yuktaḥ.* ²⁴

According to Emile Senart, ²⁵ in the BĀU. (2, 1. 14-20) "Ajātaśatru part d'une théorie psycho-physiologique du sommeil (cf. CHU. VIII, 6, 3) pour révéler que le sujet conscient est l'unique réalité fondamentale dont émane (au réveil) tout le reste de l'univers, y compris les dieux."

19. *yatra eṣa etat supto 'bhūt, ya eṣa vijñānamayaḥ puruṣah, tad eṣāṁ prāṇānāṁ vijñānena vijñānam ādāya, ya eṣo 'ntarh-daya ākāśah, tasmin śete. tāni yadā grhṇāti, atha ha etat puruṣah svapiti nāma. tad grhīta eva prāṇo bhavati, grhītā vāk, grhītaṁ cakṣuḥ, grahitam śrotam, grihitam manah.* .. (BĀU. 2, 1. 17) ²⁶

23. "Now, when one is sound asleep, composed, serene, and knows no dream—that is the Self (Ātman)...That is the immortal, the fearless. That is Brahma." (Hume)

24. "...even so that serene one (*samprasāda*), when he rises up from this body (*śarīra*) and reaches the highest light, appears with his own form. Such a one is the supreme person (*uttama puruṣa*). There such a one goes around laughing, sporting, having enjoyment with women or chariots or friends, not remembering the appendage of this body. As a draft-animal is yoked in a wagon, even so this spirit (*prāṇa*) is yoked in this body." (Hume)

25. Emile Senart, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

26. "When this man has fallen asleep thus, then the person who consists of intelligence, having by his intelligence taken to himself the intelligence of these senses (*prāṇa*), rests in that place which is the space within the heart. When that person restrains the senses, that person is said to be asleep. Then the breath is restrained. The vice is restrained. The eye is restrained. The ear is restrained. The mind is restrained." (Hume)

20. *sa yatra etat swapnyayā carati, te ha asya lokāḥ. tad uta iva mahārājo bhavati, uta iva mahābrāhmaṇaḥ uta iva ucca avacaṃ nigacchati. sa yathā mahārājo jānapadān grhītvā sve janapade yathākāmaṃ parivarteta, evam eva eṣa prāṇān grhītvā sve śarire yathākāmaṃ parivartate.* (BĀU 2, 1. 18)²⁷
21. *atha yadā suṣupto bhavati, yadā na kasya cana veda, hitā nāma nādyo dvāsaptatiḥ sahasrāṇi hṛdayāt puritatam abhi-
pratiṣṭhante. tābhiḥ pratyavasrpya puritati śete. yathā kumāro vā mahārājo vā mahābrāhmaṇo vā atighnīm ānanda-
sya gatvā śayīta, evam eva eṣa etat śete.* (BĀU. 2, 1. 19)²⁸

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14 *yā etā hṛdayasya nādyas ... lohitasyeti* see 21, 13, KauṣU. 4, 19 Praśna U. 3, 6 (cf. Yājñavalkya Dharma-Sūtras 3, 108). — 15 *yathā mahāpatha* see BĀU. 4, 4. 8-9. — 16 *tad yatra itat suptah ... nādiṣu srpto bhavati* see 21, cf. KauṣU. 4, 19. — 1 (dream experiences) see 13, PraśnaU. 4, 5. — 17 *tad ... swapnaṃ na vijānāty* = 16; see 21: *yadā suṣupto bhavati ... tābhiḥ pratyavasrpya*. — 18 *eṣa samprasādo ... rūpeṇābhiniṣpadyate* see CHU. 8, 3. 4, MaitriU. 2, 2; see also ChU. 4, 15. 1; 8, 7. 4. — 19 (ether within the heart) see TaittU. 1, 6. 1 *sa ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśah tasminn ayaṃ puruṣo manomayaḥ* cf. MuṇḍU. 2, 2.6; MaitriU. 6, 30; 7, 11. — 2 *yo 'yaṃ ... hṛdy antar jyotiḥ-puruṣaḥ* see MuṇḍU. 3, 1. 5. — 9 *sa vā eṣa ... buddhāntāyaiva* — BĀU. 4, 3. 34. — 12 *yatra suptō ... paśyati* — MāṇḍU. 5. — 13

27. "When he goes to sleep, these worlds are his. Then he becomes a great king, as it were. Then he becomes a great Brahman, as it were. He enters the high and the low, as it were. As a great king, taking with him his people, moves, around in his own country as he pleases, even so here this one, taking with him his senses, moves around in his own body (Śarīra) as he pleases." (Hume)

28. "Now when one falls sound asleep (*suṣupta*), when one knows nothing whatsoever, having crept out through the seventy-two thousand channels called *hita*, which lead from the heart to the pericardium, one rests in the pericardium. Verily, as a youth or a great king or a great Brahman might rest when he has reached the summit of bliss, so this one now rests." (Hume)

hitā nāma nāḍyo ... tiṣṭhanti see 14, BĀU. 4, 2. 3; *śuklasya nīlasya ... pūrṇāḥ* cf. BĀU. 4, 4. 9, MaitriU. 6, 30. ²⁹

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To image and estimate the intrinsic processes of dream-phenomena is difficult, but many of the difficulties have been and are being overcome by Indian commentators. However legitimate and also necessary it may be to confine attention to the intrinsic significance of the psychology of dream-phenomena, the necessity should not lead to any but one conception of the Ātman psychological process in the human organism. When relations are considered without abstraction, as mutual psycho-physical relations appearing in the human organism, then we derive the important observation that, if we make a conceptual distinction between *matter* and *self*, then we shall necessarily find some particular in the physical organization of *matter* and the psychological organization of *self* corresponding to each particular exchange.

A great Italian thinker—Prof. J. Evola—says:—“...le idee di Freud sul ‘ complesso Edipo ’...gli sono state anticipate da secoli, parimenti in una sede superiore. Sia nel già citato *Bardo Tōdol* lamaico, sia nell’ *Abhidharmakośa* buddhistico, si insegna, che appunto un desiderio per chi sarà sua madre (o suo padre, se la caratteristica del principio in azione è femminile), e poi l’assumere il piacere che l’uno-prova dell’altra nel loro congiungersi scorto in sede sovrasensibile, è ciò che conduce il principio-coscienza in una matrice umana, ove di colpo gli si spezzerà [il ricordo degli stati incorpori prenatali, o si svilupperà] grado per grado, sulla base del ‘ desiderio ’, la coscienza da essere umano legata al corpo fisico. ” ³⁰

29. For exhaustive citations the reader is referred to Jacob’s *Concordance*. See “ Recurrent and Parallel Passages ” in Hume, *op.cit.*, pp. 522-562. See also my work “ A Sanskrit Index to the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad ” (with references to other Sanskrit texts), NIA, Bombay, 1938 ff.

30. J. Evola, *‘ Maschera e Volto dello Spiritualismo Contemporaneo ’*, Torino, 1932, p. 30.

The wonderful freshness of the ideas propounded by the old Vedic philosophers is a striking testimony that they are founded upon unchanging truth.³¹ The teaching of the Upaniṣads, though so ancient, is still quite new, and even modern. In it are solutions to almost all the principal problems of the present day. These solutions are still to-day regarded as a corpus of thoughts of the highest excellence and profoundest significance.

31. See my article "Human Knowledge and its Negative Background in Transcendental Consciousness", to be published in NIA.

THE NARRATIVE STYLE IN EARLY INDIAN ART

BY SHRI S. N CHAKRAVARTI

A problem had confronted artists from time immemorial. This was how to illustrate the sacred books of religions, how to portray some episode told in detail in them. Wickhoff was the first to point out that there were in the main two methods of pictorial narration. One was the isolating method of narration, the other the continuous method. The first consisted in narrating the story by portraying single scenes from the story, without establishing any connection between them. This method was adopted by the Greek painters and sculptors. The other method consisted in recounting in chronological sequence two or more scenes from the story in a single picture in order to convey the idea of a continuous narrative. By frequently repeating the figure of the hero while changing his environment, the artist enabled the spectator to read the picture as if he were reading a book or a manuscript. Wickhoff thought that it was the Romans who first used the continuous method of narration, and from Roman art he derived the use of the continuous method in Christian art. The problem of the origin of the continuous method of narration in Christian art is still complicated. Long before the Romans, artists in various countries had been confronted with the same problem. We possess certain texts which speak of narrative pictorial decorations of Iranian houses and temples. But we have no monuments to show us how the story was told. The synagogue of Dura in Syria shows that the Jewish artists of the third century A. D. were using the isolating and the continuous methods, the latter

1. F. Wickhoff, *Römische Kunst (Die Wiener Genesis)*, 1912 (English translation by E. Strong, 1900).

prevailing, in their paintings.² And, as we shall see presently, the continuous method was a favourite device among the artists of ancient India as early as the second century B. C.

As in other countries of the ancient world, art in India was principally devoted to the service of religion. In the third century B. C. it entered into the service of Buddhism, which became at the time of Aśoka Maurya, c. 250 B. C., the leading religion of India. A vast number of religious buildings, mainly of the Buddhists, were built during the three centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Of these buildings the stūpas of Bharhut and Sāñcī (150-50 B. C.), in Central India, chiefly concern us here. They were decorated with sculpture. The decoration was devoted exclusively to two subjects: the worship of Buddha in his symbols, and episodes in the story of his life on earth, in his last and in his previous births (Jātakas). One important change was, however, introduced into the scheme later, viz., the portrayal of Buddha at Mathurā (A. D. 150-200) and at Amarāvati, Goli and Nāgārjunikonda (A. D. 150-300).

1 *Bharhut*

Of the Stūpa at Bharhut, a village in the Nagod State of Central India, only the Eastern Gateway and a portion of the Railing are now in the Calcutta Museum. The Gateway bears an inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the middle of the second century B. C. The inscription records the erection of the Gateway under the reign of the Śuṅgas, who succeeded the Mauryas. Both the Gateway and Railing are lavishly decorated with bas-reliefs.

In Bharhut we find the artists grappling with the problem of narration in illustrating the Jātakas, the stories of the life of Buddha in his previous births. They tried various means of achieving it. They were not content with the isolating method; they tried to evolve their own method of continuous narration. The different parts of the Stūpa were the gifts of

2. M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europus and its Art*, pp. 122ff.

different donors, and the artists employed were apparently of different grades. Consequently, various devices were used, and various grades of success achieved. The Bharhut artists it would seem, were not sure of their skill in illustrating the Jātakas. Accordingly they thought it advisable to provide their illustrations with explanatory legends. However, some of the scenes remain yet to be explained or identified, because the choice of figures in them is faulty. In most of the scenes the artists were successful in grouping round the hero the other leading characters in the story, and in showing in one or more pictures either the most important phase of the story or several successive phases of it. Generally, the illustration of the story was extremely abbreviated and condensed, indicating that the artist took for granted a previous acquaintance with the Jātakas on the part of the spectator. In many scenes the various phases of the story were squeezed, because the space was circumscribed, into one and the same picture. As a result the treatment in them has taken a symbolical rather than narrative character. When more space was available the various phases of the story were told in separate pictures, sometimes in separate panels, especially on pillars. In these separate pictures the idea of continuity was conveyed by the repetition of the *dramatis personae* of the story.

As we have already remarked, the Bharhut artists provided their illustrations with explanatory legends. This device was undoubtedly adopted out of the desire for complete elucidation of the illustrations. The Bharhut artists also evolved another device, which Foucher¹ discovered at Ajantā and termed the "optical image explanation" and which Bachhofer² calls the "topographical arrangement". Under this device individual objects or entire scenes were introduced into a relief with which they have nothing to do. At Sāñcī the device of providing explanatory legends to illustrations were discarded as being inartistic, and the device of "topographical arrangement" was resorted to. Thus

1. A. Foucher, *Letters d' Ajantā*, J. A., 1921, p. 203.

2. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 25, 44.

simultaneous contemporary events were rendered by a juxtaposition in space, and the *dramatis personae* were repeated in the same panel. Though such a situation is impossible, it is adopted for the clearness of the narrative.

The Bharhut artists had recourse to the continuous method of narration in order that even those unable to read the legends could understand the illustrations. But it was used only in so far as it did not clash with the principle of "topographical arrangement". As we shall see presently, the continuity of the narrative was broken up in favour of an arrangement in which the various scenes of action taking place in the same locality were put one by the side of the other. Indeed, to the Bharhut artists it did not seem impossible to connect two episodes lying wide apart in time, provided both episodes took place in the same locality.

Let us now describe some Jātaka scenes at Bharhut. The "Mahākapi-Jātaka", the story of "Bodhisattva the King of the Monkeys", exemplifies the continuous method of narration. The story is told in one and the same picture. The Bodhisattva, born as a leader of monkeys, lived on the bank of the Ganges in the Himalayas by the side of a mango tree which bore delicious fruits. The king of Benares, coming to know of its existence from his 'Wood-rangers', arrived at the place with his retinue to shoot down the monkeys. The Bodhisattva, realizing the danger to his herd, made a sort of bamboo bridge across the river. But the bridge fell a little too short. So the Bodhisattva supplemented it by his own body. The monkeys crossed the bridge safely, but their king was utterly exhausted. The king of Benares, amazed at the spirit of self-sacrifice, had a net spread into which the Bodhisattva fell. The king honoured him by offering him a higher seat next to his own. The Bodhisattva instructed the king and died. In the medallion the following successive phases of the story are presented, the figure of Bodhisattva being repeated twice: the monkeys treading on the back of the Bodhisattva, the net spread by the king's men, and the Bodhisattva instructing the king.

The continuous method appears in a more advanced form in the "Vitura-Punakiya-jatakam", the Episode of Vidura and Pūrṇaka, corresponding to the Pāli "Vidhura-pañḍita-Jātaka". The Bodhisattva was then born as Vidhura-pañḍita, the wise councillor of the Kuru king Dhanañjaya. Vimalā, the wife of the Nāga king Varuṇa, felt a keen desire to hear Vidhura's discourse on the law. But fearing lest the king might not grant her request, she feigned illness and asked him to bring the heart of Vidhura in order to effect her cure. Irandatī, the daughter of the Nāga king, met her fiancé the Yakṣa general Pūrṇaka on the Black Mountain in the Himālaya and induced him to take up the mission. Pūrṇaka, riding on his magic Sindh horse, went through the sky to Indraprastha, the Kuru capital. There he engaged the Kuru king in gambling with dice, claiming the possession of Vidhura as a prize victory. He defeated the Kuru king in the play. Vidhura took leave of the king to go with Pūrṇaka. The Yakṣa asked the sage to take hold of the tail of the horse. The horse went up into the sky, carrying both, and soon reached the Black Mountain. There Pūrṇaka tried to kill Vidhura and take his heart. But the sage told the Yakṣa not to kill him if the latter really wanted to have his heart. Pūrṇaka desisted from killing Vidhura, and heard the incomparable teaching of wisdom. He carried the sage alive to the palace of the Nāga king. Pūrṇaka ultimately married Irandatī and took her to his home.

The story is divided into four panels, arranged vertically on a pillar. The individual scenes are as follows. In the left half of the uppermost panel are Pūrṇaka and Irandatī in the Black Mountain represented by the rocks, trees and wild beasts. In the right half Irandatī is shown under the palace gateway, which indicates clearly that the two lovers met each other for the first time. (2) In the lowermost panel Pūrṇaka waits outside the palace of the Kuru king with the magic Sindh horse, and Vidhura comes out of the palace after taking leave of the Kuru king. (3) In the right lower corner of the middle lower panel Pūrṇaka, carrying the wise Vidhura holding on by the tail of his flying horse, has come to the Black

Mountain. In the upper right corner Pūrṇaka has seized Vidhura by the feet and is dashing his head on the rocks. In the upper left corner Vidhura converts Pūrṇaka. Finally, in the lower left corner Pūrṇaka continues his journey, carrying Vidhura. (4) In the left half of the middle upper panel Vidhura enters the Nāga palace evidently walking in behind Pūrṇaka, and in the right half Pūrṇaka is standing, with Vidhura behind him, in the presence of the Nāga king Varuṇa and the Nāga queen Vimalā who are seated on the left, side by side, on a couch, the queen on the left hand side of the King.

One can easily see that the panels are not put below one another to synchronize with the succession of the episodes as narrated in the Pāli "Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka". The sculptured illustrations of the story, as we read them from the bottom to the top, come to an end with the scene in the middle upper panel. The continuity of the narrative is broken up by the scene in the upper panel which represents Pūrṇaka and Irandatī in the Himālaya. This is done under the law of "topographical arrangement" in order to indicate the place of action, and the three panels, from the top, appear in juxtaposition because the episodes illustrated in them have taken place in the same surroundings.

2 *Sāñcī*

A few Stūpas have been preserved at Sāñcī in Bhopal State, Central India. The most important of these is the Great Stūpa. On its Southern Gateway occurs a donative inscription, which records the gift of one of the architraves by a certain Ānamda, foreman of the artisans of king Śrī-Śātakarṇi, the Āndhra king Śātakarṇi I who was reigning in the latter half of the first century B. C. The Āndhras ruled over Malwa after the Śuṅgas.

The continuous method appears in a still more advanced form in the story of Vaiśvantara illustrated on the lowest architrave of the Northern Gateway. The story is set forth practically in one picture, and although parts of it are treated on different portions of the Gateway, the whole may be

taken as one continuous frieze. It is told in full and with a wealth of detail, incident after incident in the story being recounted in chronological sequence without any dividing lines between them : the gift of the royal elephant, the banishment of the prince with his wife and two children, the gift of the chariot, the life in the hermitage, the gift of the children, the gift of the wife, and the happy ending. The connecting link is the figure of the hero, the prince, who is represented in each incident. He is easily recognizable. So are the other leading characters in the story placed around him.

Here Mons. Foucher's¹ interpretation of the story is followed. The story proceeds from right to left. It is framed between two representations of the rampart, gate and palaces of the capital of the Śibis, marking the beginning and end of Vaiśvāntara's adventures. The representations of the two cities are symmetrically reversed. Further, the city at the left has a moat transformed into a lotus pool haunted by *hamsas* and its bank into a park of trees, while the city at the right has no moat. This is so, because the story has a painful beginning and a happy ending.

Let us now describe different episodes of the story of Vaiśvāntara : (1) Vaiśvāntara, the prince, riding his elephant, meets a brahmin in the foreground, receives his request in the middleground, and sanctions the donation of the elephant from the balcony of his palace in the background. The king, Vaiśvāntara's father who observes the impolitic action of the prince from the balcony of his palace, makes a gesture of surprise and protestation. (2) The prince, with his wife Mādri and two children, takes leave of the king and the queen-mother. This scene is linked with the foregoing by two female attendants, one carrying a casket and the other a ewer, who have just come out of the city. (3) In the foreground are represented the departure of the family, alone without servants, in their horse chariot and the gift of the chariot to a brahmin; while in the background are shown the brahmin

1. Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. II, pls. 23, 25, 29, 31.

dragging behind him the empty chariot and another brahmin, aided by his two novices, leading after him the four horses of the chariot. The trees indicate that the episodes take place in the country. (4) In the foreground the prince, holding one child by the hand, and his wife, carrying the other on her hip, go on their journey on foot. Village people line their way. In the background are scenes of rural life: two peasant women sitting with their children in front of their cottages; two peasants, one shouldering bow and another spear, are going for hunting; and two others are returning from the forest, one carrying two haunches of antelope on a pole. A lion finally indicates that the prince, his wife and their children are going deeper and deeper into the jungle. (5) Then follows the life in the hermitage: the hut of leaves; Vaiśvantara and Mādrī in bark dress attending to the sacrificial fire; the two children playing near the hut; the lotus pool in which an elephant is bathing and two *hamsas* are playing, and to which two boars are coming to drink; the grooves composed of trees and haunted by lions, elephants, antelopes, etc. Vaiśvantara and Mādrī appear again seated on the threshold of a hut. A hermit's life in the forest required the separation of persons. Hence, the two huts. But the second hut is of no use to the continuation of the story. (6) A hunter who watches over the repose of the exiles is trying, with taut bow, to stop a brahmin. Mādrī is returning from her usual fruit picking, a basket of fruits on her head. Her path is blocked by Indra disguised as a lion (here, however, three lions are shown). Vaiśvantara, in the absence of Mādrī gives away the two children to the wicked brahmin who leads them away, beating them with a stick. We do not know where the brahmin is going till we get to the end of the story. There the capital of the Śibis is shown again, and there the first scene represents the king, Vaiśvantara's father, perceiving from his balcony the wicked brahmin, whose business seems to come and sell the children to their grandfather. (7) In the foreground Vaiśvantara gives away his wife Mādrī to a brahmin. In the background the brahmin has changed into Śakra, the Indra of the gods, recognizable by

his thunderbolt, his jar of ambrosia and his tiara. Vaiśvantaṛ and Mādri meet again after the cruel trials they have been through. (8) In the foreground the king, Vaiśvantaṛ's father on horseback and Vaiśvantaṛ's two children, riding on an elephant, come to seek Vaiśvantaṛ and Mādri, now in secular costume, to the capital of the Śibi, where the four exiles, reinstalled in the palace of the prince, show themselves to the eyes of their loyal subjects.

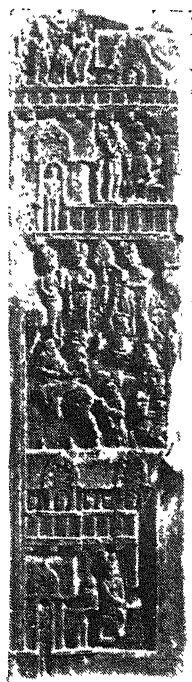
The question now is: Why was the continuity of the narrative broken up by introducing the children's kidnapper at the end of the story? To the early sculptors the clearness of the narrative was above all to be considered, and they resorted to every sort of device to realize the aim. In the present example, the scene introduced is connected with the principal subject. But in the example of the "Return to Kapilavastu", which we will now describe, a scene was introduced which had nothing whatever to do with the principal subject. To put precisely, in the second example two episodes, lying wide apart in time, appear in juxtaposition, because they have taken place in the same locality.

The "Return to Kapilavastu" on the right jamb of the Eastern Gateway is not depicted in the normal way to right and left, the surface to be decorated being a tall and narrow one. It is divided into three panels, one above the other, by means of a row of houses and a structure which has the appearance of a rampart covered by plants. The scene which the sculptor has to portray is the meeting of king Śuddhodana with his son on the latter's return to Kapilavastu, as also the miracle which the Buddha performed on that occasion by walking in the air, and the gift of a banyan park made by his father.

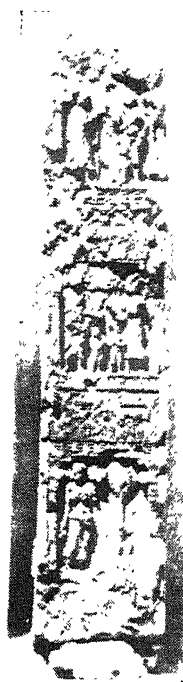
At the top of the relief, the conception of the Bodhisattva is shown: Māyā sleeping on a bed and the divine elephant approaching her from above. This, however, is not really part of the narrative for the conception took place forty years before the other events narrated below. It has no other purpose than that to let the spectator know that the place of action is Kapilavastu. For, of course, every Buddhist knew



1



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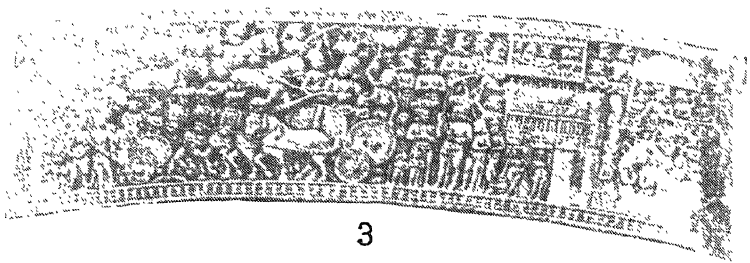


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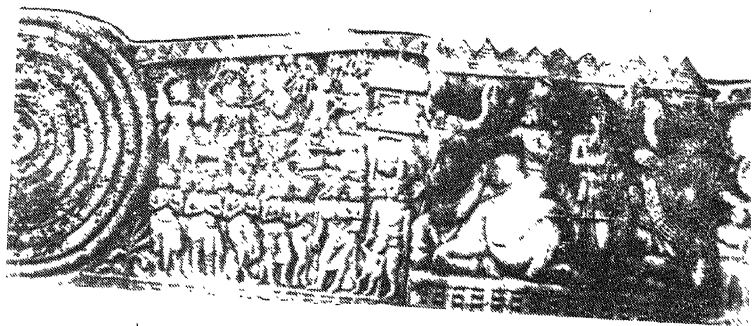


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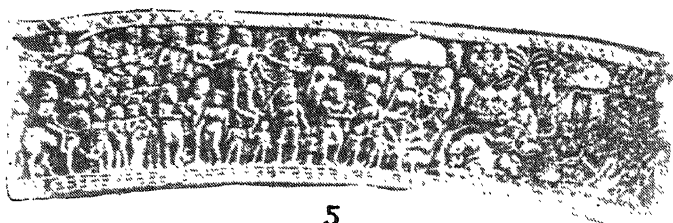
1. Stūpa of Barhut-Mahākapi Jātaka.
2. Stūpa of Barhut-Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka.
7. Pillar from the Bhutesar site, Mathurā. Visvantara Jātaka.
8. Stūpa of Goli, Visvantara Jātaka.



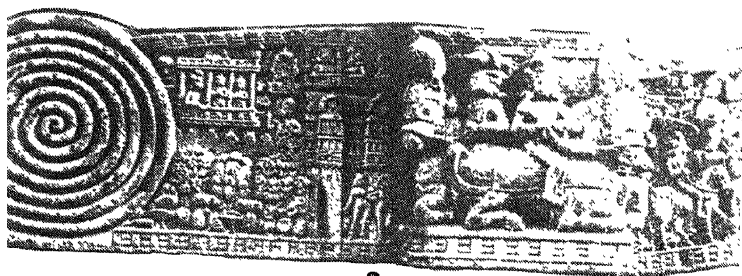
3



4



5



6

3-6. Great Stūpa of Sāñchi-Visvantara Jātaka.

well enough the birth place and home of the Buddha. It is just under that law of "topographical arrangement" that the sculptor represented the two events, wide apart in time, because they took place in the same locality. Then comes the royal procession through the town, with king Śuddhodana riding in the midst. The king is in his chariot preceded by his band and followed by a long suite of foot soldiers, horsemen and mounted elephants. Next, the miracle is shown, with the figures of the king and his courtiers repeated. They, with hands clasped and heads raised, contemplate with much veneration the long narrow flagstone suspended in the air at the height of the trees, the *ratna-caṅkrama* or "path of precious stone" which the Buddha created for himself by means of his magic on his first return to his native town. The miracle was performed to solve a knotty question : of the father who was still king and the son who had become the Buddha, which should salute the other first? The miracle solved the difficulty, and, as we know from the Buddhist texts, Śuddhodana prostrated himself before his son. And, lastly, the gift of the banyan grove, symbolised by a single tree, is shown. The religious rule forbade the new Buddha to live in one of his former palaces, or even inside the town. So his father offered him as residence one of his pleasure parks.

3 Mathurā

Mathurā became during the reign of the Kushāṇa kings (first and second centuries A.D.) the home of the most important school of sculpture in ancient India. It may be remembered that at Bharhut and Sāñcī the Buddha is never represented in human form, his presence being indicated merely by symbols. In Mathurā, however, we meet with his human representations.

As pointed out by Bachhofer, a peculiarity of early Indian art is the disproportion existing between personae and their surroundings. The personae are the main point, and it is their actions and doings which are to be perceived above all ;

whereas the landscape and the architectural surroundings, always rendered improbably small, occupy the second place. This disproportion is more pronounced at Mathurā than at Sāñcī. The example of the Vaiśvantara-Jātaka at Mathurā, on the back of a jamb from Bhutesar which is divided into three panels cross-wise, will best explain our point. The three panels depict the gift of the children. In the first panel Vaiśvantara meets the brahmin; in the second, Vaiśvantara makes a gift of his children to the brahmin; and in the third, Mādrī, Vaiśvantara's wife, on her return does not find the children. The story is not told in full and with the wonderful wealth of detail characteristic of the Sāñcī frieze. Only one episode of the story is told, and it is treated summarily. In telling it the continuous method of narration is used, as at Sāñcī, the idea of continuity being conveyed by the repetition of the principal figure, the figure of Vaiśvantara. But whereas at Sāñcī there are clear indications that the gift was made when Vaiśvantara and Mādrī were living in the forest as anchorites, at Mathurā the forest is denoted by a tree only in the third panel and both Vaiśvantara and Mādrī are shown in secular costume. All this makes the explanation of the representations of this episode of the story of Vaiśvantara at Mathurā more difficult than at Sāñcī, this being probably due to the sculptor's attempt to conceal the story behind an everyday episode from court life.

4 *Amarāvati, Goli and Nāgārjunikonda*

With regard to the time of the Stūpa at Amarāvati on the right bank of the Krishnā, it is fixed by the inscriptions bearing the names of three Āndhra princes, Śrī Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A. D.), Śrī Śivamakaśāta, and Śrī Yajña (c. 174-200 A. D.). In Amarāvati four periods of construction, however, are easily discernible on the style of the sculptures and on the palaeography of their inscriptions. The first period is dated from the first or second century B. C., the second from the first century B. C. or A. D., the third from the latter part of the second century, and the fourth from the early part of the third century. The Stūpa near the village of Goli in Guntur

District is assigned, on the style of its sculpture, to the fourth period of Amarāvati. Of the Buddhist ruins excavated at Nāgārjunikonda, some distance above Amarāvati, on the right bank of the Kriṣṇā, the large Stūpa or *Mahācetiya* was founded, as we know from the dedicatory inscription in Prākṛit, by queens and princesses belonging to the Ikṣvāku dynasty which succeeded the Sātavāhana dynasty in the Āndhra country. The foundation probably took place in the second half of the third century A. D.

The story of Vaiśvantara is also illustrated at Amarāvati, but it is not told in full and with a wealth of details as at Sāñcī. Again, as at Mathurā, at Amarāvati the same disproportion exists between man and his surroundings, as also the same attempt to conceal the real tenor of the story.

The Amarāvati frieze shows scenes in panels running from right to left. The first scene depicts the gift of the elephant. Vaiśvantara is shown beside his elephant with a pitcher in his hand to pour water into the hands of the brahmins from Kaliṅga. The next scene shows the people complaining to the king, Vaiśvantara's father, against his son's impolitic action. This part of the Jātaka is not shown at Sāñcī. The third scene shows Vaiśvantara giving away his bullock cart (instead of the chariot drawn by horses shown at Sāñcī) to a brahmin. That the incident happened in the forest is indicated by trees in the background. While the two previous scenes are separated by a pilaster, there is no such division between this scene and the next. Here, in the last scene, Vaiśvantara and his wife, Mādrī, are shown carrying their children and approaching the hermitage.

At Goli, however, the same story is narrated in a greater detail. As at Sāñcī we find the same order of events and the same or very similar arrangements. But while the Goli narrative lacks the wonderful wealth of detail characteristic of the Sāñcī frieze, it is clearer and better organized.

At Goli the story is told in one frieze with dividing lines. There are four panels in the frieze. (1) Prince Vaiśvantara, mounted on his elephant and accompanied by his atten-

dants, goes to the alms hall. (2) The prince gives away the rain-giving elephant to the brahmins from Kaliṅga where there was drought and a great famine. (3) It is the longest panel, depicting several scenes separated from one another by a tree. The first scene depicts the prince driving a bullock cart in which is seated his wife, Mādrī, with their two children. A tiger, a lion, a monkey, and a scorpion are shown to indicate that they are entering a forest. In front of the prince stand four brahmins who ask him to give them the bullocks. The second scene shows Vaiśvantara and Mādrī dragging the cart with the children in it, and two brahmins who ask the prince to give them the bullock cart. In the third scene, the prince, with the son mounted on his shoulders, walks in the forest, while his wife, Mādrī, follows him with the daughter on her hip. The fourth scene represents two episodes. In the foreground the prince, standing in front of his hut, gives away the two children to a brahmin, while in the background the brahmin drives away the children. The fifth scene to the right of the hut shows the prince in meditation under a tree, and Mādrī approaching him from the forest, carrying on her shoulders a pole to the ends of which are suspended two baskets, doubtless containing fruits. Two lions are shown facing her. According to the story, Indra, the chief of the gods, in order to aid the prince in his gift of the children without any obstruction from their mother, detained her purposely in the forest in the disguise of a lion. (4) The king, Vaiśvantara's father, is seated on a throne with his grand-children, one on each knee. Evidently, this scene represents the happy ending, and we are to infer here the gift of Mādrī to Indra, the sale of the children to their grand-father, and the search for Vaiśvantara and Mādrī by the king and his grand-children.

5 *Ajaṇṭā*

It is important to observe, in connection with the history of narrative art, that the devices of Bharhut and Sāñci, were still used in the Gupta period at Ajaṇṭā, in the ninth century at Borobudur in Java and Bayon in Cambodia, and in the

twelfth century at Angkor Vat in Cambodia. At Ajantā, in the Hyderabad State, there are no less than twenty-six Buddhist caves, adorned with a large number of mural frescoes, representing in the main episodes relating to Buddha's life and his pre-births, dating from various periods. The earliest of these frescoes are those in Caves IX and X (*caitya* halls), executed in the first or second century B. C. Painting of the Gupta period is preserved in Caves XVI and XVII (*vihāras*) and in Cave XIX (*caitya* hall), executed in the fifth century under the reign of the little local dynasty of the Vākātakas, who were connected by blood with the Imperial Gupta rulers. The last series, dating to the seventh century, is made up of the frescoes of Caves I-V and XXI-XXVI (all *vihāras* with the exception of one *caitya* hall).

One of the frescoes in Cave XVII illustrates the "Chaddanta Jātaka" (Plate of Lady Herringham's *Ajanta Frescoes*). The story runs thus. The Bodhisattva was born as a royal elephant known as Chaddanta (Sanskrit, Śaḍ-danta). He had two wives one of whom bore a grudge against him. She died, and was born as a woman and became the chief wife of the king of Benares. In order to avenge the wrong done to her accidentally by her former elephant-husband, she feigned illness and prevailed upon her husband, the king of Benares, to send a hunter to kill the elephant Chaddanta, the possession of whose tusks (that emit six-coloured rays) alone would cure her. The hunter went to the forest, and attempted to slay the elephant king. But the latter, learning from the hunter his mission, aided him in sawing off his own tusks. When the tusks were sawn off, the elephant king fell down dead. The hunter took the pair of tusks to the queen who, on the sight of them, was filled with remorse and died of a broken heart.

The story is illustrated thus. Below, Lady Herringham's Plate XXVII, the scene on the left shows the elephants bathing in the lotus pond, while on the right is the hunter. Above, on the right the elephant king Chaddanta gives his two tusks to the hunter, who hurries to the city with the tusks suspended

to a pole placed on his shoulders. On the left the king of Benares is seated on a couch and his queen is swooning on his lap at the sight of the two tusks, which one of the king's men is showing her on a round big dish.

One of the frescoes in Cave II illustrates the "Vidhura paṇḍita-Jātaka". The story is painted in several episodes on the wall of the right corridor, above and between the first and second cell doors. The sequence of events is not however in strict conformity with that of the Jātaka version. In describing the various scenes the order observed in the Jātaka version not in the fresco, is followed, and the reader is referred to the plates (XL, XXXV and XXXVII, XXXIX) of Ajantā by Yazdani.

Below, Yazdani's Plate XL, on the right side of the fresco, the Nāga King, Varuṇa, is asking her daughter, Irandatī, to seek a husband who could bring the heart of Vidhura paṇḍita, the minister of the Kuru king Dhanañjaya of Indra prastha, for her mother, Vimalā. On the left side Irandatī meets Pūrṇaka, the Yakṣa general. Irandatī is repeated twice, first in a swing, and afterwards leaning against a post of the swing and talking to Pūrṇaka with his magic horse, who is known, first as if descending from the air, and, afterwards standing on the earth. According to the Jātaka, Pūrṇak took Irandatī to the Nāga king and asked for her as his wife.

Above, the Nāga king consults his kinsmen and wife about the proposal of Pūrṇaka, and ultimately fixes Vidhura paṇḍita's heart as the necessary condition for the marriage. The gallant Yakṣa readily agrees to the condition and proceeds forthwith to Indra prastha, riding on his magic horse through the sky. According to the Jātaka, as he had heard of the Kuru King's fondness for the game of dice, he secured a jewel worthy only of a universal king so that he could entice the Kuru king to play with him.

At the top, Yazdani's Plates XXV and XXXVII, Pūrṇaka arrives at Indra prastha, and shows the magnificent jewel to the Kuru king whom we find seated with his ministers in a room of the palace. In an adjoining room the Kuru

king is engaged in the game of dice with Pūrṇaka. According to the Jātaka, the Kuru king lost the game, and Pūrṇaka won from him Vidhurapaṇḍita as wager.

In the middle, on the right side, Vidhurapaṇḍita discourses to the ladies of the palace and on the left he takes leave of the Kuru king. That the two scenes are connected with the departure of Vidhurapaṇḍita to the Nāga world is indicated by the presence of the magic horse of Pūrṇaka in between them.

At the bottom, Vidhurapaṇḍita is given a royal send-off. He rides in state on an elephant.

Above, Yazdani's Plate XXXIX, Vidhurapaṇḍita teaches the sacred doctrine to the Nāga king Varuṇa. Behind Vidhurapaṇḍita is Pūrṇaka, and outside the pillared hall, in which they are seated, is Pūrṇaka's horse, which is repeated twice, first, as if descending from the air, and, secondly, resting on the earth. Evidently, Vidhurapaṇḍita came to the Nāga world through the sky, the royal escort being given to a certain limit. Behind the pillared hall is a balcony where Vimalā and Irandatī are seen discussing about the latter's marriage. Pūrṇaka is seen at the back of the chamber. He is riding on his magic horse, whose muzzle only is seen. Below the balcony there is another in which Pūrṇaka and Irandatī, not Pūrṇaka and Vimalā as suggested by Yazdani, are shown in the former's home.

THE COMMON WISDOM OF THE WORLD

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY†

“When God is our teacher, men are all agreed.” “It is wise to listen, not to me, but to the WORD that ever IS and to agree that all things are One. The WORD is common to all”. So said Xenophon and Heracleitus, most truly.

I have often argued that the WORD that has been handed down in the Western tradition from the pre-Socratic to the present day, and the WORD to the hearing of which we in India refer by the name of Śruti, “audition”, corresponding to what in the West is called “Scripture”, are one and the same. During many years I have collected from Eastern and Western sources parallel passages in which identical doctrines have been enunciated as nearly as possible in the same term and often, indeed, in the same idioms and making use of etymologically equivalent words; not at all with a view to the demonstration of any literary “influences,” but only in order to show that the doctrines themselves are cognate in the same sense that the etymons, e. g. of Greek and Sanskrit, are cognate, that is to say, of common origin. I cite below a few representative examples of these collations.

He Who Is

“I am that I am” (*Exodus* 3. 14).¹ “HE WHO IS is the principal of the names that are given to God” (Damasce, *De fide Orth.*), “HE IS, by that alone can he be grasped” (*Kātha Up.* 6. 13).

The Fellow-traveller

“I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee” (*Yos.* 1. 5; *Heb.* 13. 5.) “Behold, I am with thee” (*Gen.* 28. 15). “It is

† This is the Greek version, good in itself, but not a literal translation of the original Hebrew (*ehyē*) which means “I become what I become” as in *RV.* 5.3.1 *varuṇo jāyase...mitro bhavasi.*

the greatest of all benefits that the toiling and striving soul has for a fellow-traveller God, whose presence extends to all things" (Philo, *Somn.* 1.178). "You are not alone, God is within you, even your Genius" (Daimon = Yakṣa) (Epictetus 1.4.12). "There is always another one walking beside you, Gliding wrapped in a brown mantle, hooded" (T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* 362, 363. "I worship Him, verily, as the 'Never-absent Other' (*dvitīyo'napaga*); he who so worships Him hath such an Other" (*Br. Up.* 2.1.11, cf. *Kauṣ. Up.* 4.12). The Sannyāsin "whose end is beatitude should dwell here on earth with none but the Self as Companion" (*ātmanaiva sahāyena*, Manu 6.49). The Buddha "teaches the way to Companionship with Brahma" (*M* 2.206-7), note that Brahmacārī, "one who walks with Brahma" corresponds to Plato's *theo sunopadós* in *Phaedrus* 248 C. "I am not alone, I have God as my Companion, who never forsakes you, at home or abroad, asleep or awake, in life or in death...Whenever you remember Him, He is there beside you" (al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā* 2, p. 202 and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyat* 39, cited by Margaret Smith, *al-Ghazālī*, 1944, pp. 95, 98). "The neighbour, companion, and fellow-traveller is He, In the rags of beggars and raiment of kings is He" (Jāmī quoted in Dārā Shikūh's *Majmu' l Baḥrein*, Introduction).

Love of Self¹

"It is my nature and my will to reverence the Gods; I love my Self" (Euripides, *Helen* 998, 999). "There is one primal 'Dear' for whose sake all other things are dear...It is not for the sake of any thing 'dear' that the Dear is dear" (Plato, *Lysis* 219, 220). The lover of Self (*philautos* = *ātma-kāmaḥ*) is "one who cherishes and in all things obeys the most lordly part of himself²...that which each of us is, or is chiefly...Hence the good man will be a lover of Self in the highest degree, though in another sense than that of the lover of self so-called by way of reproach" (Aristotle, *Nich. Eth.*

1. As distinguished from the "selfish" self-lover.

2. The immanent Daimon, or Spirit: the *mahān aja ātmā* of BU 4.4.22 and *ātmano'tmā* of MU 6.7.

9.8.6). "Not that the creature ought not to be loved; but that if that love be referred to the Creator, then it will not be desire, but charity" (St. Augustine, *De Trin.* 8). "A man ought to love himself more than he loves any other person...more than he loves his neighbour" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* 2-2.26.4). "Not for the love of the husband is the husband dear, but for love of the Self. Not for the love of the wife is a wife dear, but for love of the Self. Not for the love of sons are sons dear, but for the love of the Self...It is not for the love of the worlds that the worlds are dear, but for the love of the Self. It is not for the love of the Gods that the Gods are dear, but for love of the Self" (*BU* 4.5.6). "Perfect charity does not admit of love for the individual" (Chwang Tzu Ch. 14).

Look Not Back

"Remember Lot's wife" (Luke 17.32). "Lot entered into Zoar...But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt" (*Genesis* 19.23, 26). "When you fare abroad, do not turn round at the frontiers...By these words Pythagoras meant to advise those who are departing this life not to set their heart's desire on living, nor to be too much attracted by the pleasures of this life" (Diogenes Laertius, 8.17, 18). "Orpheus received his wife on this condition, that he should not turn his eyes backward until he had gone forth from the Valley of Avernus, or else the gift would be in vain" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.50-52). "Enter, but I make you ware that he who looketh behind returns outside again" (Dante, *Purgatorio* 9.131). "Now this day you have ceased to see day-light. Think only of what is good...When you start to leave them [your living relatives] you must not think backwards of them with regret, and do not think of looking back at them" (Fox Indian speech to the Deceased, T. Michelson, *On the Fox Indians*, p. 417.). "Mount ye, with Agni, to the vault," he says..."Going to the heaven, they look not back", he says (*Taittirīya Samhitā*, 5.4.7.1) "The heavenward-going look not back, they ascend the heaven, both worlds" (*Vājasaneyī Samhitā* 17.68); "in the

heavenly world he thus finally establishes himself, he walks along without looking back, and places a log on the Sacrificial altar' (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 14.3.1.28).

Motion-at-Will

"The deceased becomes an 'Osiris justified'...this Osiris 'can go wherever he pleases...[having power over] all the mysteries of the divine forms...he might wish to assume'" (A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, 1927, p. 405). "Shall pass in and out, and find pasture" (John 10.9). "Now let thy liking be thy leader" (Dante, *Purgatorio* 27.131). "We shall be made so subtle in body and in soul together, that we shall be then swiftly where us list bodily, as we be now in our thoughts ghostly" (*Cloud of Unknowing*, ch. 59). "Where there is motion-at-will" (*Rgveda* 9.113.9). "Those who de cease, having already found here the Self and those true-desires, they become movers-at-will in every world" (*Chāndogya Up.* 8.1.6.); "up and down these worlds: eating what he will, and assuming what form he will" (*Taittirīya Up.* 3.10.5).

Everlasting Day

"The Sun shall nevermore go down" (Isaiah 60.20). "That true day, the day not cramped by a yesterday and a tomorrow, the Eternal Day which neither dawns nor sets" (St. Augustine, *In Ps. CXXXVIII*). "To-day with thee endures for ever" (Joshua Sylvester). "He never really rises nor sets" (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.44). "Having risen in the zenith, he will no more rise nor set, but stand alone in the middle...Verily, for the Comprehensor of this divine mystery, he neither rises nor sets; it is evermore day for him" (*Chāndogya Up.* 3.12.1,3). "I love not them that set" (*Qur'ān* 6.46). "My Sun is beyond all orients. His 'orient' is only in relation to his motes. His essence neither rose nor set" (*Rūmī, Mathnawī* 2.1107-8).

Knowledge Hereafter

"The intellect of the deceased no longer 'lives', but

merging with the deathless, ether, theirs is a deathless understanding" (Euripides, *Helen*, 1004-5). "It has not knowledge in such sort that the knowledge *by which it knows* is one thing, and the essence *whereby it is* is another, but both are one" (St. Augustine, *In Joan. Evang.* 99.4). "The soul in unity understands without understanding" (Meister Eckhart, Pfeiffer, p. 634). "Verily, though there he does not 'know', yet indeed he knows, although he does not 'know'; for there is no stoppage of the knowing of the Knower, because of his imperishability. It is not, however, a second thing, other than and separate from Himself that he knows...For when the *All*, forsooth, has come to be nothing but the Self...by what might It 'know' what?" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 4.3.30, 4.5.15)

Causality

"All that becomes, comes into being of necessity by the operation of some cause" (Plato. *Timaeus* 28 A). "Will A be or not? Yes, if B takes place, otherwise not" (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 6.3.1, cf. 11.8.8). "Naught becomes without a cause" (Plutarch, *Moralia* 369 D). "Nothing in the world happens by chance" (St. Augustine, *QQ CXXXIII.* 34). "I will teach you Eternal-Law: If this is that becomes; from the arising of this, that arises; if this is not, that does not become; from the ceasing of this, that ceases" (*Majjhima Nikāya* 2.32). "This from that and that from this in productive sequence" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī* 2.982).

Any extended list of such *dharma-paryāyas* would fill a book.

THE CURTAIN IN ANCIENT INDIAN THEATRE

BY DR. S. K. DE

A great deal of controversy has centred round the word Yavanikā which signifies the curtain employed in ancient Indian theatre. The object of this paper is not to reopen the entire question ; but certain assumptions made since the time of Windisch, Weber and Wilson appear to have received currency without much justification, and a critical examination of certain relevant facts has, therefore, become necessary.

It is now generally admitted that the word Yavanikā cannot be taken as an argument for proving Greek influence on the Indian stage or drama. The word is taken to be a derivative from Yavana meaning Ionian, the Greeks with whom Indians came into contact. But since the word was not confined to what was Greek alone and since there is no proof that the Greek mime had any use for the curtain, it has been suggested that the word refers not to the curtain but to the material of the curtain, for which the practice of using foreign cloth, possibly Persian tapestry brought to India by Greek merchants, is presumed. But it should be clearly understood that there is no evidence to support this presumption, even though it has been repeated in all recent text-books on the subject.¹ The attempt,² again, to remove this difficulty and derive the word Yavanikā from the root *yu* (*yunāti āvarṇoti anayā iti*) is too ingenious to be seriously considered. But it is important to note in this connexion that the word Yavanikā

1. Sten Know, *Indische Drama* (Berlin and Leipzig 1920), p. 4 ; A. Berriedale Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, (Oxford 1924), pp. 51, 359 ; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1922), III pp. 175-76.

2. T. M. Tripathi, *Commentary on Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanī-mata*, p. 359.

as such is rarely recognised by old Indian lexicographers ; it is not included as a synonym of the curtain by Amara, Śāśvata, Hemacandra, Halāyudha, Yādava-prakāśa or Keśava.

In the second chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, where the construction of the stage is detailed, neither the word Yavanikā nor any description of it occurs ; but it is apparently known, as it occurs later in 5. 11-12 in the description of the elements of the Pūrva-raṅga :

*etāni ca bahir gītāny antar-yavanikā-gataih |
prayoktrbhiḥ prayojyāni tantrī-bhāṇḍa-kṛtāni tu ||
tataś ca sarva-kutapaḥ yuktānyanyāni kārayet |
vighāṭya vai yavanikāṃ nr̥tya-pāṭhya-kṛtāni ca ||*

This is the text given by the more recent Benares edition³ (1929) which does not notice any variant reading ; but it should be noted that the older Bombay edition⁴ (1894) records the variant Javanikā in both places, while the edition of Grosset (1898) reads Javanikā in both places, only one of its manuscripts having the form Yavanikā.

This variation of reading raises an important point ; for the word Javanikā (and not Yavanikā) occurs regularly in the lexicons *e. g.* of Amara (2. 6. 120), Halāyudha (2. 154)⁶ and Keśava (p. 53, śl. 300)⁷ as the name of a curtain, but not necessarily of the theatre-curtain. The commentators on Amara, rightly or wrongly, derive the word from the verbal root *ju* thus :

Kṣīrasvāmin : *javante' syām javanikā.*

Sarvānanda : *javanam vego' syā astīti javanikā.*

Bhānuji Dīkṣita : *javatyaśyām, juḥ sautro dhātuḥ gatau
vege ca, lyuṭ, svārthe kan.*

3. ed. Batuknath Sarma and Baladev Upadhyay, Kashi Skt. Series-Benares 1929. The later works on Dramaturgy (*Daśarūpaka, Nāṭya-darpaṇa* etc.) do not throw any light on the question.

4. ed. Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1894.

5. Paris and Lyon, 1898.

6. *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, ed. Th. Aufrecht, London 1861.

7. *Kalpādrū-kośa*, ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda 1928.

Similarly, Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (2. 344) includes Javanī as a synonym for curtain and explains in the commentary : *javante' syām javanī*. The word seems to be old and occurs in the sense of theatre-curtain in the *Harivaṃśa* :⁸

[*prekṣāgārāṇi*] *rejur javanikākṣepaiḥ sapakṣā iva khe nagāḥ* ;
and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1. 8. 19):

Māyā-javanikācchannam ajñādhokṣajam avyayam |
na lakṣyase mūḍha-dṛṣṭā naṭo nāṭya-dharo yathā ||

Although the form Javanikā is thus authenticated, the etymology of the commentators is considered too fanciful and brushed aside by modern scholars, who assume that the word Javanikā is nothing but a Prakritic form of the word Yavanikā.⁹ But it is clear that this assumption proceeds with the acceptance of the Yavanikā-Ionian equation and thereby really begs the question.

There is yet a third form Yamanikā which does not appear to have received any serious consideration. Through the influence chiefly of the Yavanikā-Ionian theory, this form has been summarily dismissed by Böhtlingk and Roth as a scribal mistake for Yavanikā and by Sten Know as merely secondary ; but it is recognised independently by Indian lexicographers and found in some manuscripts of Sanskrit plays and poems. Thus, Maheśvara¹⁰ commenting on the passage quoted from Amara above (2. 6. 120) gives for the curtain the synonyms : *pratiśīrā javanikā yamanikā tiraskaraṇī* (a fact which is noted in the modern *Śabda-kalpadruma*) ; Bhānuji Dīkṣita explains further : *yamanikā iti vā pāṭhaḥ, yamayati, yama uparame lyuṭ,* and Sarvānanda similarly notes : *dṛṣṭer uparatir anayeti vā*

8. Ed. Bombay, 2.29.7; ed. Calcutta 4648. In later Kāvya [the word occurs in *Sisūpāla-vadha* iv. 54; *Hara-vijaya* xl. 38 etc.

9. But contrary, Pischel in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 354.—The *Deśi-nāma-mālā* gives both *javanīā* (4.1) and *javanī* (2.25) in the sense of screen, but obviously these are derivatives respectively of Sanskrit *javanikā* and *javanī*.

10. As in Bombay ed. 1896.

yamanikā.¹¹ Hemacandra, in the passage quoted above, commenting on the word *javanī* adds : *yamanī ityapi*. In the absence of critical editions of Sanskrit plays and poems, the editors of which usually adopt the form *yavanikā*,¹² the evidence therefrom is uncertain ; but a few important occurrences of the form *yamanikā* may be noted here. In Hillebrandt's critical edition of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*,¹³ the reading accepted in two places in the stage-direction is *yamanikā*, although the usual variants *yavanikā* and *javanikā* are also noted : p. 192, l. 7 *tataḥ praviśati yamanikāvṛta-śarīro mukhamātra-drśyaś cāṇakyaḥ* ; p. 193, l. 11 *yamanikām apanīyopasṛtya*. In Meghaprabhācārya's *Dharmābhyudaya*¹⁴ one of the stage-directions occurs as : *yamanāntarād yati-veśa-dhārī putrakas tatra sthāpanīyaḥ*, p. 15 ; no. v. l. noted). In a verse of *Bhartrhari-Śataka*, given in P. von Bohlen's edition (no. 51),¹⁵ and reproduced in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (no. 779)¹⁶, the word preferred is *yavanikā* :

*jarā-jīrṇair aṅgair naṭa iva valī-maṇḍita-tanur
naraḥ saṁsārānte viśati yama-dhānī-yavanikām |*,

but both von Bohlen and Böhtlingk conscientiously record the *variae lectiones*, namely, *yamanikā* and *javanikā*.

It is clear, therefore, that *Yamanikā* is as much a recognised form of the word for curtain as *Javanikā* and perhaps more than *Yavanikā*. If we accept the etymology proposed by

11. The printed text (ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series. 1914-17) evidently wrongly reads *yavanikā* !

12. As in *Svapna-vāsava-datta* Act vi, after śl. 16: *paśyāmastāvad rūpa-sādṛśyam, saṁkṣīpyatām yavanikā*; in *Pratimā* at the end of Act ii, after śl. 21: *kāñtukīyo yavanikās-taraṇaṁ karoti*. Also *Mālavikāgnimitra* vi. 18/19. As no variants are usually recorded, it is not clear whether the editors of plays and poems proceed strictly on manuscript evidence or on a preconceived bias regarding greater desirability of the *Yavanikā* form.

13. Breslau 1912. K. H. Dhruva's edition reads *javanikā*, which is translated as 'a fine coat of mail.'

14. Ed. Jaina Ātmānanda Grantha-mālā Series, no. 61, Bhavnagar 1918.

15. Berlin 1833. The verse is missing in Telang's edition (Bombay Skt. Series, Bombay 1893).

16. St. Petersburg 1863-65 (in 3 vols.).

commentators on lexicons, the form *Javanikā* makes some sense however fanciful; while *Yavanikā* derives its validity only from the rather far-fetched explanation that it referred to the foreign material of the cloth. The form *Yamanikā*, on the other hand, perhaps makes a better and more natural sense. It is obviously derived from the root *yam* (1. 1009), ' to stop or restrain ', signifying a covering or curtain ; and it would not be unjustifiable to suggest that it was perhaps the original form, which is almost lost or replaced by the other two forms, *Yavanikā* and *Javanikā*. That it is not a fictitious derivative of lexicographers is clear from the fact that the word *yamanī*, from which it is directly derived, appears to be old, being traceable as far back as the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (14. 22).

As the *Raṅga-pīṭha* or stage appears to have had no wings¹⁷ (as in modern theatre), the question of drop-curtain does not arise. The curtain was presumably meant (there having been no scenes) to screen off the *Nepathya-gr̥ha* or tiring room which was behind the *Raṅga-pīṭha* or stage. The exact location of the curtain, however, is not given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, nor in later dramaturgic works. Wilson was of opinion that " curtains were suspended transversely so as to divide the stage into different portions, open equally to the audience, but screening one set of actors from the other." But this theory of transverse curtain, as Keith has already pointed out, lacks corroboration.¹⁸ The same remark applies to the conjecture of Monier Williams (*Śakuntalā*, p. 4) that the curtain was " suspended across the stage, answering the

17. Unless the two *Mattavāraṇīs*, whose function is obscure, on the two sides of the *Raṅga-pīṭha*, acted as such; but this is very unlikely. See Mankad (*Hindu Theatre in IHQ*, viii, 1932, pp. 485f, 494-95) who is inclined to believe that there were no wings, nor was there any drop-curtain, in ancient Indian stage.

18. The passage from *Śvapna-vāsava-datta*, quoted above in footnote 12, cannot be urged in support; for the word *yavanikā* there can be explained simply as a screen or veil which hides *Vāsavadattā* from the king. The first Act of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, again, is not a relevant instance; for here obviously we have to imagine six shifting scenes which take place in *Cārudatta's* house and in the street outside; and such unmarked scene-shifting is common enough in Sanskrit plays.

purposes of scenes, behind which was the space called Nepathya''. We have only the authority of Abhinavagupta who, in his commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*,¹⁹ locates the curtain between the Raṅga-pīṭha and the Raṅga-śīrṣa (*tatra yavanikā raṅgapīṭha-tatśīrṣayor madhye*, p. 212). But there is some difficulty in accepting this location. The Raṅga-śīrṣa, as its name implies, was presumably the place at the head or extreme end of the Raṅga-pīṭha, i.e., between the Raṅga-pīṭha and Nepathya-gr̥ha. Its use is thus explained by Abhinavagupta : *tat-pātrāṇāṃ viśrāntyai āgacchatām ca guptyai raṅgasya śobhāyai raṅga-śīrah kāryam* (p. 63). But since the musicians are also allowed to sit there, it has been urged that there is no point in making them sit behind the curtain, along with actors tired or about to enter; for the curtain in the position suggested would screen them off from the Raṅga-pīṭha. Even allowing that the orchestra may be screened off, there is no point in making tired or entering actors sit there when the tiring room is just immediately behind. This might have been the case in Abhinavagupta's time; but in the original plan of the theatre given in the second chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, the curtain appears to have had no place there, and its absence is perhaps in conformity with the original practice of musicians sitting openly in the Raṅga-śīrṣa. In the face of these difficulties it is not possible to determine exactly the position of the curtain; but it is not unlikely that its employment was meant (as *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 12. 2-3; Benares ed. 13. 2-3, indicates) to screen off the way of entrance of the actors from the tiring room to the stage. But since the Nepathya-gr̥ha is allowed to have two doors for entrance of actors (*kāryaṃ dvāra-dvayaṃ cātra nepathya-gr̥hakasya tu*)²⁰ apparently into the Raṅga-śīrṣa and thence to the Raṅga-pīṭha, it has been sometimes presumed that there

19. Ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda 1926.

20. *Atra = raṅga-śīrṣa* from the context. Bharata, *Nāṭya-śāstra* Benares ed., ii. 70. Abhinavagupta explains (p. 68): *dvāra-dvayaṃ eva raṅga-śīrasi nepathya-gata-pātra-praveśāya*. The position of the doors, rather obscurely given, is discussed by Mankat at pp. 489-90.

must have been two curtains covering the two doors. But if Abhinavagupta's view is accepted, the curtain, suspended across between the Raṅga-pīṭha and Raṅga-śīrṣa would have screened off the entire stage from the Nepathya-grha with its two doors, thus forbidding the necessity of any presumption of two curtains for the two doors. There is, again, no ground for assuming that the curtain was parted in the middle, or that the actors entered through the parting drawn aside. At least, no such description or reference is found in dramatic texts. The curtain appears to have been simply tossed aside when actors entered. Even in the case of hurried, abrupt or violent entrance the position of the curtain, whether between the Raṅga-pīṭha and Raṅga-śīrṣa or between the Raṅga-śīrṣa and the Nepathya-grha, would not hinder it. The stage-direction for hurried entrance *apaṭi-kṣepēṇa praviśati* would, therefore, simply mean "enters without a toss of the curtain".²¹

21. Some of the commentators, however, explain the phrase differently. Quoting Halāyudha, who gives *Apaṭi* as a synonym of *Paṭi* or *Javanikā* (*apaṭi kāṇḍapaṭaḥ syāt pratisīrā javanikā*, 2.154), Rāghavabhaṭṭa (on *Śakuntalā*, ii and vi) explains: *apaṭi-kṣepēṇeti tiraskaraṇi-tiraskārenetyarthaḥ*. Kāṭyavarma's explanation is similar: *harṣa-śokādi-sambhramayuktasya naṭasya praveśaḥ paṭākṣepēṇa kriyate*. This interpretation would imply that normally the entrance of actors was effected by drawing aside the curtain, but in the case of hurried entrance, the curtain was tossed aside. But Śaṅkara appears to agree with our view when he says: *apaṭi-kṣepēṇa akasmād ityarthaḥ; paṭi-kṣepo na kartavya āṛta-rāja-praveśayoḥ iti bharataḥ* (we have not been able to trace this quotation in the present text of Bharata). That the curtain was tossed aside when actors entered is indicated by the following passage from Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Bombay, 12.2-3; ed. Benares, 13.2-3):

*yathā-mārga-rasopetaṃ prakṛtinām praveśane |
dhruvāyām sampravṛttīyām paṭe caivāpakarṣite ||
kāryaḥ praveśaḥ pātrāṇām nānārtha-rasa-sambhavaḥ |*

The passage from Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭani-mata*, cited by Mankad (p. 494) need not go against this view, the tossing of the curtain being indicated equally by the words *ākṣipta*, *apakarṣita* or *apanita*.—Böhtlingk (*Śakuntalā*, ed. Bonn 1842) has a long note, after the commentators, on this stage-direction (Act iv, p. 46, p. 208); but this was written long before definite knowledge of ancient Indian stage was available.

MĪMĀMSĀ AND THE MODERN SCIENCE OF LEGAL INTERPRETATION

BY DR. G. V. DEVASTHALI

The *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* system as formulated for the first time by *Ĵaimini* in his *Sūtra* and expounded by *Śabara* in his *bhāṣya* on it has, in one of its aspects, generally been recognized as the Science of Interpretation of Ancient India. With the promulgation of this system it was but natural that the Law-givers of Ancient India instead of evolving separately a science for the interpretation of Law should only utilise this science which had already come into existence. Thus we find the *Mīmāṃsā-śāstra* playing an important role in the field of legal interpretation also, so much so that it may be looked upon as the Science of Legal Interpretation of Ancient India of about two thousand years ago. It may be interesting to see how this science compares with the Science of Legal Interpretation obtaining at present. This is what we propose to do, only in a broad cursory outline, in what follows.

Taking up the language first we find *Ĵaimini* declaring in no ambiguous terms that the words in the Scriptures convey the same sense that they do in common parlance, on the ground that we perceive no difference between the two, and also because otherwise it would be impossible for the Scriptures to convey any injunction at all¹. *Ĵaimini* goes even further when he uses expressions like '*Lokavat*²' and '*Yathā loke*³' implying thereby that Scriptural Texts are to be construed exactly on the same principles on which we do the sentences in common parlance. This very principle has been very emphatically and in very clear terms set forth by *Śabara*

1. cf. 'प्रयोगचोदनाभावादर्थैकत्वमविभागात् ।' M. S. I.3.30.

2. cf. I. 2.20 ; II. 1.12 ; VI. 8.26 ; X. 2.23 ; 3.24 and 51 ; 6.8 ; 7.66.

3. cf. I. 2.29.

in the very opening sentence of his *bhāṣya* where he has declared that as far as possible the words of the *sūtras* must be understood to convey only such senses as they are used to convey in common parlance ; and that their senses should be neither restricted by construing them as being only technical terms, nor should they be unduly widened by resorting to *adhyāhāra* and such other modes of interpretation⁴. It is surprising to see how even in the Modern Science of Legal Interpretation this principle finds great prominence given to it. For in the interpretation of an Act 'it is a cardinal rule of construction of statutes in general that the intention of an enactment should be gathered by the language employed by it, and where the words used are clear and unambiguous it is the duty of the Court to give effect to them according to their plain meaning neither adding to nor subtracting from them⁵'.

The *Mīmāṃsaka*, as we know, is a believer in the authority of *Śabda* (*Śabda-pramāṇaka*), particularly so far as *Dharma* is concerned ; and as such the general rule with him is that whatever is declared by *Śabda* is *pramāṇa*. This means that whatever sense is yielded by the words of a Scriptural Text directly i.e. according to the plain and direct construction must be accepted as being authoritative, irrespective of any extraneous considerations. This is what *Śabara* means when he, in several places, declares that it is not proper for an interpreter to derive from the words of the Scriptures more sense than what is actually conveyed by them. In fact, according to him, the duty of an interpreter is not to discuss whether the wording of the Scriptural Text before him is right or wrong, but merely to see and state what sense is yielded by the words as they

4. लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि पदानि तानि सति सम्भवे तदर्थान्येव सूत्रेष्वित्यव-
गन्तव्यम् । नाध्याहारादिभिरेषां परिकल्पनीयोऽर्थः परिभाषितव्यो वा । [SB. on
MS. I, 1.1.]

5. CPC. I. p. 9.

stand.⁶ Modern Science also has accepted this principle in toto when it lays down that 'The Court's function is, in fact, to say not what the Legislature meant or ought to have meant, but what it has said it meant'.⁷ Modern Science has accepted even the other part of the principle noted above; for it asserts that 'even if the result of the construction were absurd that is no reason to depart from clear and unequivocal language capable of only one meaning'⁸ which in other words means that 'the interpretation should not where the language is clear be influenced by extraneous considerations'.⁹ This very principle is again recognized by the Modern Science by declaring that 'the words in an Act are used correctly and exactly and not loosely and inexactly'.⁹

From this it is clear that what is directly expressed by the Scriptural Text alone has to be accepted and implicitly obeyed; and that nothing that would depart from it shall be done. This principle we find very clearly stressed in what are technically known as *Niyama-vidhis* in the *Mīmāṃsā-śāstra*. Thus though it may be possible to unhusk rice with nails, yet that mode of unhusking is not to be adopted; for the text '*Taṇḍulān avahanti*' lays down *avahanana* (striking with a pestle) as the means thereof. Similarly though as a general rule some *dravya* (thing), that is similar (*sadrśa*) to the originally enjoined one, is to be accepted as a substitute (*pratinidhi*) when the original one is lost or spoilt (*apacarita*), yet this practice is set aside when admitting a substitute for *Soma*. For in this connection the Scriptures expressly

6. cf. अस्य सिद्धे प्रयोगेऽर्थमन्विच्छन्तो यदवगम्यते तदर्थः शब्द इत्यवधारयामः [SB. on M. S. IX. 3, 14]; सत्यं विनापि तेन सिद्ध्येत् प्ररोचनम् । अस्ति तु तत् । तस्मिन् विद्यमाने योऽर्थो वाक्यस्य सोऽवगम्यते स्तुतिप्रयोजनम् । [SB. on M. S. I. 2.7]; Also read SB. on M. S. I. 2.8. Also cf. ननु बहुषु विवक्षितेषु बहुवचनेन भवितव्यम् । उच्यते । न वयमेतद् विचारयामः एकवचनमुच्चारयितव्यं नोच्चारयितव्यमिति । उच्चार्यमाणे सति किं प्रतिपत्तव्यम्, एकस्मिन्नेव सम्मार्गादि उत सर्वेषु इति । तच्च सर्वेषु इति स्थापितम् । [SB. on M. S. III. 1.14.]

7. CPC. I. p. 13.

8. CPC. I. p. 10 f.

9. CPC. I. p. 28.

lay down that if *Soma* is not available one shall press *Pūtīkas* instead. This principle is accepted in the Modern Science of Legal Interpretation also which declares that 'where a statute creates a right and provides a remedy that remedy and no other is available'.¹⁰

The *Aindrī-nyāya*¹¹ is one of the well-known *nyāyas* (maxims) of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*. The text '*Aindryā gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate*' is discussed and ultimately it is established that on the authority of *śruti* (direct statement) contained in this text the *aindrī ṛk* shall be used at the *upasthāna* of the *Gārhapatya* fire only and not at the *upasthāna* of *Indra* on the strength of *liṅga* (indication). This principle of *śruti* being stronger than *liṅga* is also found in the rule laid by the Modern Science viz. 'Where the language of a statute is plain and clear it cannot be qualified or neutralized by indication gathered from previous legislation'.¹² In case of doubt or ambiguity, however, *Mīmāṃsā* does accept *liṅga* as *pramāṇa* for arriving at the exact import of a text. In fact, *Mīmāṃsā* admits several¹³ such means of varying authority in addition to the *liṅga*. A similar phenomenon we find in the Modern Science also where we find the following rule laid down for the guidance of the interpreter: 'But where the language is not clear or the statute has made no provision for any particular case the previous legislation may be referred to for the purpose of ascertaining the object and intention of the legislature'.¹⁴

It is again an accepted principle of *Mīmāṃsā* that *śruti* is the highest and the most authoritative of all the *pramāṇas* for *Dharma*, so much so that *Smṛti* and other *pramāṇas* may be looked to for *Dharma-jñāna* only in the absence of any direct statement or *śruti* pertaining to the point in question, and

10. CPC. I. p. 24.

11. Also known as the *Gārhapatya-nyāya*, discussed at M. S. III. 2.3f.

12. CPC. I. p. 29.

13. These are enumerated and their relative potencies told in M. S. III. 3.14.

14. CPC. I. p. 29.

that too only when they are not in contradiction with any of the existing *śrutis*.¹⁵ Thus in other words it may be stated that the other *pramāṇas* such as *smṛti* may be referred to only when the point in question cannot be definitely decided on the strength of any of the existing *śrutis*. Modern Science very well agrees with *Mīmāṃsā* here also as we can see from the rule that 'where the language is plain, no extraneous matter should be taken into account in the interpretation of an Act'; but 'when the language is doubtful or ambiguous such proceedings, of course, may be looked into. But where the language of the enactment itself is clear, its construction cannot be affected in any way by a consideration of the preamble or the headings prefixed to the sections. In cases of the ambiguity of the language of the enactment, however, they may be usefully referred to for the purpose of finding out the object and intention of the enactment'¹⁶. This last again is what *Mīmāṃsā* has accepted by admitting the authority of *prakaraṇa* and *samākhyā* as *pramāṇas* for determining the *aṅgāṅgibhāva*, of course, in the absence of a deciding *śruti*. It is on this very principle again that Modern Science declares that 'where there is ambiguity in the section the marginal notes can be referred to for solving the ambiguity'¹⁷.

Modern Science of Legal Interpretation like the *Mīmāṃsā* is quite emphatic on the principle that the duty of the interpreter is not to question or discuss the wording of *śruti* or law. He has to accept it as it is; and only interpret it and declare what it means according to the direct, simple and ordinary construction. That is why it has been assumed that 'it is always dangerous to paraphrase an enactment even if badly worded'¹⁸. But there may be cases where the sense yielded by the actual words of a text cannot be compatible with the situation concerned. Under such circumstances it is but

15. The relative potencies of *Smṛti* and other *pramāṇas* are discussed by *Jaimini* at. M, S, I.3.

16. CPC, I. p. 30 ff.

17. CPC, I. p. 34.

18. CPC, I. p. 13.

impossible to accept the strict sense that is yielded by the words and hence some slight change has to be introduced in the wording of the text itself. Such necessity has been recognized both by the Modern as well as the Ancient Sciences of Legal Interpretation. Thus in the text '*Dadhñā juhōti*' (which is a *guṇa-vidhi*) the verb *juhōti* though standing in the present tense has yet to be taken to have the force of the potential mood which is to be found in the text '*Agnihotram juhuyāt*' (which is its *mukhya-vidhi*). Such a change is called *vipariṇāma* (modification). This principle of *vipariṇāma* is best illustrated by texts like '*Prati tiṣṭhanti ha vā ete ya etā upayanti | Brahmavarcasvino' nnādā bhavanti ya etā upayanti*'.¹⁹ *Adhyāhāra* or ellipsis is yet another mode of correcting (if we may be allowed to use such an expression in connection with Scriptural texts) a text so as to yield actually the sense that is exactly intended to be conveyed by it. Thus, for example, if a man says merely '*Dvāram dvāram*' the listener will have to supply some such word as '*pīdhehi*' or '*apāvṛṇu*' according to the intention of the speaker and do accordingly. In Scriptural Texts also sometimes we do come across some elliptical texts like '*Sam te vāyur vātena gacchatām, sam yajatrair aṅgāni, sam yajñapatir āśiṣā*'. This text contains one complete sentence and two incomplete or elliptical ones. These latter, the *Mīmāṃsaka* admits, have to be completed by *adhyāhāra*²⁰. Another such mode of interpretation adopted by *Mīmāṃsā* is what is called the *vyavadhāraṇa-kalpanā* which is explained by *Kumārila* as '*Yatra | anyathā arthaḥ prati-bhātaḥ paurvāparyālocaṇena vyavadhārya anyathā kalpyate sā vyavadhāraṇa-kalpanā*'.²¹ According to this mode it is that the text '*Tam asmai bhakṣam prayacchet*' is interpreted to mean '*Tena yaṣṭavyam*'²²; and similarly the text '*Yavato*' *śvān pratigrhṇīyāt*' is understood as meaning '*Yavato*' *śvān prati-grāhayet*'. Thus we see that though as far as possible the inter-

19. This text is discussed by *Śabara* at M. S. IV. 17-19.

20. This text is discussed by *Śabara* at M. S. II. 3.49.

21. *Tantravārtika* on II. 1.33. (p. 436 *Ānandāśrama* edition).

22. Read SB. on M. S. III. 5.48.

preter is to find the actual sense that is yielded by the words of the text as it stands, yet in some cases where such a course is not possible to adopt, only as the last resort he may have recourse to devices like *adhyāhāra*, *vipariṇāma* and *vyavahāra-kalpanā*. These modes, it must be observed, do not affect in any way the sense that is actually intended to be conveyed. They, in fact, only correct the irregularities in the language of the text in question and thus help the text to yield the intended sense. Modern Science also is not slow in accepting this principle. Nor is it less categorical in emphasizing the fact that the changes introduced on the strength of such devices are merely to be looked upon as corrections of careless language and not as tampering with the sense actually intended to be conveyed. Thus according to Modern Science 'It is always dangerous to paraphrase an enactment even if badly worded, and no modification of the language to meet the intention can be made unless it is impossible to resist the conviction that the Legislature could not possibly have intended what its words signify and that the modifications thus to be made are mere corrections of careless language and really give the true meaning.'²⁴

Another rule of interpretation that is accepted by Modern Science is that general words must be given the broadest possible effect, unless there is some specific reason to the contrary.'²⁵ This principle also we find fully discussed and established by *Jaimini* and *Śabara* in their works. Thus it has been shown that if a word such as '*barhiḥ*' is liable to be construed in a wider sense (as a *jāti-śabda*) and also in a narrower sense (as a *saṃskāra-śabda*), the interpreter shall construe it in its wider sense i. e. as a *jāti-śabda* and not in its narrower one i. e. as a *saṃskāra-śabda*.²⁶ There are, however, cases where words cannot be accepted in such a wider sense. Thus in the text '*Śyenena yajeta*' it is not possible

23. Read *Tantravārtika* on II.1 33.

24. CPC. I. p. 13.

25. CPC. I. p. 20.

26. Cf. M. S. I. 4,5 and B. thereon.

to construe the word *śyena* in its wider sense as a *jāti-śabda* and has as such to be taken in a restricted sense as a proper noun only.²⁷ Similarly the word '*Citrā*' in the text '*Citrayā yajeta*' and the word '*Agnihotra*' in the text '*Agnihotram juhoti*' have to be taken only as proper nouns and not as *jāti-śabdas*.²⁸

Another rule for the exact interpretation of a word has been evolved by the *Mīmāṃsaka* in connection with texts like '*Vāsaḥ paridhatte*' or '*Aktāḥ śarkarā upadadhāti*'. The word '*Vāsaḥ*' in the former text is a *jāti-śabda*; and according to the rule discussed above it will have to be taken to be as such and signifying any garment. But in the sequel of the text we find another statement viz. '*Etad vai sarvadaivatyaṃ vāso yat kṣaumaṃ*' eulogizing *kṣauma*. Hence here it is concluded that the word *vāsaḥ* in the text under consideration should be taken to stand not for any type of garment but for *kṣauma* (silken garment) only. Similarly in the second text quoted above it is decided on the strength of its sequel viz. '*Tejo vai ghr̥tam*' that the term *aktāḥ* stands for '*ghr̥tena aktāḥ*'. Thus we see that the sense of a general term has sometimes to be modified in accordance with the sequel or *vākya-śeṣa* as the *Mīmāṃsaka* would like to call it.²⁹ Another illustration of a slightly different nature is to be found in the text '*Yo dikṣito yad agnīśomīyaṃ paśuṃ ālabhate*' where the question is whether the *paśu* to be sacrificed may be any *paśu* or it must be a goat (*chāga*). The word *paśu* here in this text is a *jāti-śabda*; and if it is understood in its wider sense according to the general principle noted above the former alternative would seem to be the right one. But on the strength of the *mantra-varṇa* viz. '*Agnaye chāgasya vāpayā medaso'nubruhi*' it has been concluded that the *paśu* intended here is *chāga* only and not any *paśu* what-so-ever.³⁰ Thus we see that when a general word and a particular word are used in the same context and with

27. Cf. M. S. I. 4.5 and SB. thereon.

28. Cf. M. S. I, 1-4 and SB. thereon.

29. Cf. M. S. II. 1.29 and SB. thereon.

30. Cf. M. S. VI. 8.29-42 and SB. thereon.

reference to the same thing or matter the general word has to be interpreted in the light of the particular one. And this is again what Modern Science also lays down when it holds that 'When there are too general words following particular and specific words in a section the general words must be confined to the things of the same kind (ejusdem generis) as those specified'.³¹

The principle '*Yah śāstrasthānām sa śabdārthaḥ*' or '*Śab-dārthaparicchede abhiyuktāḥ pramāṇam*' finds an echo in what Modern Science has to declare in connection with judicial precedents. 'Judicial precedents', it declares, 'constitute an important guide to the proper interpretation of statutes'. This view about judicial precedents is based on 'the general principle of the construction of statutes that Courts should follow existing rulings so as not to upset or disturb existing and settled practice unless such practice is clearly contrary to an express enactment or is inconsistent with it'.³² It may be seen that this principle accepted by Modern Science very well corresponds to the view held by the *Mīmāṃsaka* regarding the *prāmāṇya* of what is called *śiṣṭā-cāra*. Equally striking again is the similarity between the reasoning forwarded by both these Sciences in support of their view. The *Mīmāṃsaka* argues that since *śabda*, *artha*, and also the *sambandha* between the two are all *nitya*, therefore, it is impossible that a word should have more senses than one; and that this one *artha* possessed by *śabda* has to be determined naturally on the strength of the practice of *abhiyuktas* or *śiṣṭas* who are in constant touch with it; and further adds that if this principle is not accepted there would arise the contingency of *lokavyavahāroccheda*.³³ And this is

31. CPC. I. p. 21.

32. CPC. I. P. 37.

33. cf. यन्नाम यस्मिन्नर्थे औत्पत्तिकेन संबन्धेन प्रसिद्धं तस्मिन्नेव तद् विज्ञेयं नान्यत्र । तथा अव्यवस्थायां शब्दार्थे विश्वासो न स्यात् । [SB, on M. S. VII. 3.3] Also cf. पृष्ठशब्दः कर्मवचनोऽधिगतः । स एवायम् । तस्मादिहापि तद्वचन एवावगन्तव्यः । विशेषाभावात् । यद्यन्यार्थः कल्प्येत एकः शब्दोऽनेकार्थः स्यात् । तत्र को दोषः । शब्दे उच्चारिते संशयः स्यात् । न अर्थप्रत्ययः । तत्र व्यवहारो न सिध्येत् व्यवहारार्थश्च शब्दप्रयोगः । [SB. on M. S. VII. 3.35].

exactly what Modern Science also declares when in justification of the above rule it argues that 'this rule is based in the case of statutes enacting substantive law on the ground that otherwise it would embarrass trade and commerce, affect the status of persons, and unsettle many titles',³⁴ and further adds that 'though that particular ground does not apply in case statutes of procedure which cannot be considered to affect any rights in or titles to property it is never-the-less of great practical importance that on questions of procedure the law should be certain rather than that it should be logical and that there should be uniformity of decision'.³⁵ It will thus be seen that the two sciences are in full agreement with each other in this case not merely as regards the principle but also as regards the reasoning behind it.

We shall now close this paper by adducing two more principles adopted by the Mīmāṃsā which have found a place in the Modern Science as well. The maxim '*Arthavattvam nyāyyam*' or '*Anarthakyam anyāyyam*' lays down that no portion of any Scriptural text should be taken as being *anarthaka* i.e. superfluous or redundant. This in other words means that every word in such a text must be taken into account. This very well agrees with the principle laid down by Modern Science viz. 'Where two constructions are possible a section should be so construed as to avoid inconsistency of meaning, or the making of a word, clause, or sentence either superfluous or insignificant'.³⁶ The principle again underlying what is known as the *grahaiḥkatva-nyāya*³⁷ is echoed in the modern rule concerning the interpretation of genders and numbers. According to this rule the masculine includes the feminine, the singular includes the plural and the plural, the singular. It may, however, be noted that this principle applies to statutes passed after 1850 A. D. only. Thus Maxwell writes 'Unless the contrary intention appears,

34. CPC. I, p. 37.

35. CPC. I. p. 37 f.

36. CPC. I, p. 16.

37. This is discussed at M. S. III. 1.13-14.

in statutes passed after 1850, words importing the masculine gender include females, the singular includes the plural, and the plural, the singular'.³⁸ The *Mīmāṃsā*, however, goes still further and formulates the *paśvekatva-nyāya*,³⁹ which declares that the gender and the number shall have such a wider scope only if they are attached to what is not *upādīya-māna*. When however they are attached to what is *upādīya-māna* they shall be strictly and literally construed and as such the above rule shall have no scope there.

This brief and cursory survey of the similarity between the two Sciences of Legal Interpretation—Ancient and Modern—will make it sufficiently clear that much of what has been formulated and evolved by *Jaimini* and his successors in connection with the Scriptural texts still holds good and has its own place in the Science of Legal Interpretation even to this day. It may be interesting to pursue this topic in fuller details and observe not only where the two Sciences agree with one another but also where they differ and see how and why they do so.

38. Maxwell, On the Interpretation, (4th Edition), p. 517.

39. This is also discussed by *Śabara* at M. S. III. 1.15.

Abbreviations.

CPC. Civil Procedure Code (Act of 1908) edited by V. V. Citaley and K. N. Annaji Rao, Nagpur, (Fourth edition).

M. S. *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* of *Jaimini*.

SB. Śabarasvāmin's *Bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* of *Jaimini*.

JAMAV DAFTAR—AN IMPORTANT SOURCE FOR THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

BY DR. V. G. DIGHE

Social history is a new branch of study. Though we may not wholly accept Marx's theory of political conditions being determined by the social or economic structure of the community, it is beyond doubt that they bear a great impress of its economic life. The ideology of any community, its political and moral ideas, germinate in the soil of its productive system. History, therefore, is not limited to accounts of the ruling dynasties and court life, but has to account for cultural life of the society, has to tell us how the common man fared, how he organised his communal life, how he developed his peculiar ideas of God and religion and morality. A history that gives account merely of court life and wars may make interesting reading; but if it is to form a part of our educational system, the study of history will have little value unless it helps us to know the world round us, to understand our present social problems and point a finger to a happier state of society.

In this short paper are discussed some very important sources for the study of the social history of the Marathas during the Peshwas' times. The majority of the documents published by Rajwade, Khare, Parsanis and Rao Bahadur Sardesai are despatches dealing with the political activities of the Marathas in Maharashtra, Konkan, Karnatak, North India and elsewhere. To a careful reader even these contain many references useful to construct the social structure of the community. We see the Peshwas and their Sardars distributing charities, spending money in building ghats at holy places, asking their agents to send them articles of luxury, celebrating holidays, etc. In the series of the Peshwa Daftar selections

edited by Rao Bahadur Sardesai there are two volumes containing interesting references to social life under the Peshwas. Mr. Chapekar of Badlapur examined records of two leading banker families of Poona in old days and has published extracts from them throwing light on various facets of Maratha social structure. Prof. V. G. Kale some time back made an interesting study of the coinage of Shivaji's times with a view to determine their comparative value. But all this has been done in a haphazard manner. No attempt has been made to give us a complete picture as has been done by Cunningham, Ashley or Lipson in England.

For a scientific and comprehensive study of the subject ample material exists in the Peshwas' Daftar, especially the Jamav section and the Rozkirds or the Daily Accounts of the Peshwas. Jamav means papers collected from outside for purposes of Government enquiry in pursuance of the powers granted to the Inam commission; and consequently these papers are distinct from the central Records of the Peshwas. They are thus described by Rao Bahadur Sardesai in his handbook to the Alienation records :—

“ After the British conquest the hereditary district and village officers had systematically concealed the ancient revenue accounts in their possessions; but the inquiries of the Inam Commission brought these to light and often with them the accounts of Prants in Hindusthan or the Konkan and of the Native states, which had found their way to the private houses of the persons who had once held office in those parts. This great mass of documents from all the above ghat districts filling 7,864 rumals, form the Jamav Daftar.”

This Jamav Daftar is a veritable Alladin's cave for study of old Maratha social life. The papers belonged to the old revenue collectors, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, and naturally should enable us to reconstruct the revenue system of the old native Govt. Our notions of Shivaji's revenue arrangements are yet hazy; we cannot yet definitely say whether land revenue was periodically revised under the Peshwas as at present. There is no agreement among scholars about the

share claimed and realised by the state from cultivated land. The incidence of land tax, as gathered from the Jamav papers, would appear to be much heavier than at present. Though the old social structure was not complex as the present one, no economic activity of the community seems to have escaped the long hand of the tax collector. There was tax on goods in transit, tax at ferries and passes, tax on buffaloes and sheep, tax on marriages, widow marriages not excepted. In spite of this the picture of the general society left to us by British officials such as Elphinstone, Malcolm and Munro and foreign travellers is not one of grinding poverty but of a happy and contented society. The taxable capacity of a society depends on its system of production. Probably the productive system offered work for all and enabled the community to bear cheerfully the various taxes. Agriculture and industries were well-balanced and offered occupation to all able-bodied, preventing unnecessary crowding on land. But these are mere conjectures. A clear answer can be offered only when the material in the Jamav Daftar is closely and scientifically examined.

Besides the old revenue system the village accounts contain several other interesting items : expenditure on account of annual celebrations of fairs and holidays, wages paid to village servants, fines realised from offenders, sacrifices of sheep and fowl performed for exorcising evil spirits, presents of cloth to officials etc. Accounts of old forts like Sinhagarh tell us how the places were garrisoned, how provisions were collected, how the hill artillery was manned ; at important bastions or difficult points idols were worshipped and their blessing invoked with animal sacrifices on particular days. The forts were used as prisons ; the native Govt. was not far behind the present one in giving preferential treatment to political offenders. The rates of staples, of cloth and other necessities of life, can be usefully collected for comparison in these account papers. The accounts for big cities like Poona would tell us how the place developed from a tiny hamlet into a busy centre of trade. Poona was in old days surrounded by fields and gardens and as the city developed

these were slowly transformed into suburbs. Accounts for the various suburbs tell us when particular communities like gold-thread makers, or copper pot makers or carpenters settled in Poona, what arrangements were made for organising markets, for scavenging, for lighting streets.

At times one lights upon legal decisions, telling of the Penal Code of the Peshwas. Law was not then codified : cases were decided according to Shastras and custom. There are some curious papers explaining what sentences were pronounced for particular offences. Muzaffar Khan Gardi made an attempt on the life of Bhau of Panipat fame ; he was sentenced to be trampled over by an elephant. The criminials, Tulya Pawar and the Gardis, implicated in the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa were subjected to a slow and painful death. There are sentences prescribed for high treason, for dacoity, for robbery, for adultery and rape, for counterfeit coins, for forgery. Most of the crimes were sentenced with fines, ranging from one rupee to the confiscation of entire property ; death was pronounced on those who committed treason, or those who committed highway robbery. Murder was not as heinous a crime as dacoity, which would suggest how very greatly property was valued.

A study of these account papers, though interesting, offers great difficulty in deciphering old Modī script in which they are written, and in intelligently following the accounts and in systematically arranging select extracts. It would take very many years for arriving at definite conclusions. But the material is there waiting a master mind.

This will, of course, have to be supplemented by accounts of foreign travellers, by the literature of the day in which may be found reflected some aspects of the common life. In the 17th and 18th centuries a large number of the servants of the E. I. Co., statesmen, soldiers and adventurers who visited India have left their impressions in their diaries, memoirs and journals. A careful selection of extracts from Bernier's and Tavernier's Travel books, Fryer's and Forbes' memoirs and Broughton's and Sleeman's letter books would

BRAHMA-ĀKĀŚA EQUATION : ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY RAO BAHADUR P. C. DIVANJI

Introductory Remarks

1. There is an Adhikaraṇa called 'Ākāśādhikaraṇa in the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya of the *Brahmasūtra*.¹ It is clear from the context in which it occurs that what the Sūtrakāra meant was that *Brahman* was identical with *Ākāśa*. Since the word *Ākāśa* usually connotes the first element, which has the inherent attribute of conveying sound on account of vacuity, a doubt arises as to whether it has the same meaning there or some other. Śaṅkara has in his Bhāṣya on that Adhikaraṇa quoted certain Upaniṣad texts in which *Brahman* has been equated with *Ākāśa* and explained that the term *Ākāśa* as occurring there has not the ordinary but a special significance. I am of opinion that the etymology of the term justifies this view. True, Tārānātha in his *Vācaspatyaṃ*, as quoted by Apte in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, gives it as *Āsamantāt kāsante sūryādayo yatra* but that is a strained etymology and a better one is *Āsamantāt kāsata iti*. By the latter what is signified is an entity shining all-round by its own effulgence. Such an entity can be none other than *Brahman* which is self-resplendent and the source of light of the celestial luminaries and hence the equation *Brahman = Ākāśa*.

2. It is, I believe, an interesting and instructive study to trace this equation to its primary source and its subsequent development, if any. Since the above Adhikaraṇa is already known to have been based on certain Upaniṣad texts according to Śaṅkara, there can be no doubt as to the said equation being an article of belief in the Upaniṣad age. However from the contents of the Bhṛguvalli of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* I was led to surmise

1. Bra. Sū. I. 22.

that the truth contained in it must have been known to the Aryans from the time of Bhṛgu onwards, which must be several centuries prior to the earliest hymns of the Vedic age.² My consequent search has brought to my notice one text of the Ṛgveda which can be believed to contain the earliest mention of the equation. I therefore begin with that text.

Ṛgveda

3. The text which I refer to, runs thus :—

Ṛco' kṣāre *Parama Vyoman*, yasmin devā adhi viśve niṣeduh.
Yastanna veda kiṁ ica kariṣyati, ya itādvidusta ime samāsate.³

According to Sāyaṇacārya the words *Ṛcaḥ*, *Akṣara* and *Parama Vyoman* are capable of more than one interpretation. However it is clear that the purport of the Mantra lies in setting forth the importance of the knowledge of the true nature of the Jīvātman who along with the Dehātman is referred to in the previous Mantra in the same Sūkta, and that the purport of the Ṛcs lies in the knowledge of the Akṣara (the Indestructible One), who is the *highest vyoma i. e. to say*, partakes of the nature of the sky in the subtlest form by possessing the qualities of formlessness, pervasiveness and unaffectability. Here then we find the expressions *Akṣara* and *Parama Vyoma* made use of to signify the Supreme Being.

2. According to Bhagavadgītā X. 6 seven Mahārṣis and four Manus were the original progenitors of the human race &c. and according to Ibid X. 25 Bhṛgu was one of the Mahārṣis. The earliest Bhārgava who was however a Vedic sage was Ṛcika, father of Jamadagni, who was removed from Bhṛgu by about 30 generations (See Pargiter A. I. H. T. pp. 191-92).

3. Ṛgveda I. 22. 164. 39. On reading over the whole Sūkta No. 164 in Adhyāya 22 of the first Maṇḍala, which contains in all 52 Mantras, I have found that it embodies the view of the Vedic seer as to the relations between Brahman and Ātman, between Brahman and the Universe and between the Ātman and the Universe and that the term *Parama Vyoman* occurs in Mantra 41 also and the term *Parama Vyoma* in Mantras 34 and 35.

Upaniṣads

4. Next we go to the Upaniṣads. The *Taittirīya* from amongst the earlier ones, which has already been referred to, contains in the Bhṛguvalli the previous history of what is called the *Bhārgavī vāruṇī vidyā* (the knowledge first revealed to Bhṛgu by Varuṇa). It is, that Bhṛgu had approached his progenitor Varuṇa and requested him to instruct him as to what Brahman was, that Varuṇa told him that the entity from which food, vital breath, the organs of action and knowledge and mind were produced, in which they lived, and in which they became ultimately absorbed was Brahman, that an attempt should be made to realize it and that it was after he had known as the result of undergoing penance in several instalments that Brahman is bliss, that Varuṇa confirmed him in his belief. The compiler says at the end :—*Saiṣā bhārgavī vāruṇī vidyā, parama vyoman pratiṣṭhitā*. (This is verily the knowledge revealed by Varuṇa to Bhṛgu ; it has its seat or source in the highest *vyoma*). It deserves to be marked that the expression here used for pointing out the location of the knowledge that Brahman is bliss is the same as was used in the Mantra of the Ṛgveda above-quoted. The same Upaniṣad says in an earlier book called Brahmānanda-valli :—*Satyam jñānamantaṁ Brahma ; yo veda nihitaṁ guhāyāṁ parama vyoman, so' śnute sarvāṁ kāmāṁ, saha Brahmaṇā vipaścitā* (Brahman is truth, knowledge, infiniteness : whoever knows it *i. e.* realises it as located in the cave, the *parama vyoma* reaps the fulfilment of all desires with the intelligent Brahman).⁴ So this is again the place where the expression *parama vyoma* has been used for designating the place where one can realise the existence of Brahman who is truth, knowledge and infiniteness. That this definition does not in any way differ from that given in the Bhṛguvalli is clear from the further statement in the passage, namely :—*Tasmādvā etasmādātmanah ākāśah sambhūtaḥ Ākāśadvāyuh* etc. [It was verily from this Ātman that the Ākāśa (ether) was produced, from the ether, the wind etc.] This statement also makes two further points clear, namely,

4. Tai. Upan. II. 1.

6. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* too contains several passages of the same nature as the *Taittirīya*. Thus in the *Gāyatrī-Khaṇḍa*⁶ it is said that whoever knows the *Ākāśa* in the heart of man to be identical with that roundabout him and that to be perfect and motionless attains the state of perfection and motionlessness. A reference to the preceding *Khaṇḍas* of the same *Prapāṭhaka* makes it clear that the *Ākāśa* meant in the *Gāyatrī-Khaṇḍa* is not the ether but the light of the *Virāt Puruṣa* described in great details before. In fact the teaching contained in this *Khaṇḍa* is the same as that in the *Taittirīya* especially in the first and the second book thereof. Further on, while winding up the *Śāṇḍilya-Vidyā* in the same *Prapāṭhaka* which relates to the nature of the *Ātman* as identical with *Brahman*, the sources, support and final resort of all beings, the author says:—"It is of the nature of light, its ideas become materialised, it is identical with the *Ākāśa* and is the doer of all action, the entertainer of all desires &c."⁷ In the last *Prapāṭhaka* also the *Ākāśa* in the human heart is identified with that in the region of *Brahman*, and *Brahman* or *Ātman* is said to be residing in both of them.⁸

7. In one more *Upaniṣad* there is a reference to the *Divya Brahmapura* (the Celestial City of *Brahman*) which is the *Vyoma* and the *Mahān Ātmā* (Great *Ātman*) is said to be residing therein and it is narrated that on realising it men with steady minds have the experience of *Ānanda* (bliss), which is immortality.⁹

8. The expression *Parama Vyoma* referring to the *Akṣara* occurs in a stanza in still one more *Upaniṣad*, namely, *Śvetāśvatara*.¹⁰ It has however no independent value here as the stanza is word to word the same as the *Ṛc* in the first *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* above-quoted.

9. Further, notice must be taken of the facts that the

6. Chā. Upa. III. 12. 7-9.

7. Ibid III. 14-2-4.

8. Ibid VIII. 1. 1; 14. 1.

9. Muṇḍa. Upa. II 2. 7.

10. Śve. Upa. IV. 8.

term *Ākāśa* is found used in the *Chāndogya* in the dialogue between Aśvapati Kekaya and some Brahmins who had approached him with a view to know the nature of the Vaiśvānara (fire), which he was known to be investigating, in the sense of the first element and said to be of the same nature as the fire (heat) in the stomach of every sentient being and as that in which sacrificers offer the Agnihotra oblations and that in yet another passage also, it is found used in the same popular sense and not identified with anything. ¹¹

10. The importance of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* in tracing the history of any philosophical theory cannot be overestimated. We have seen that the expression *Parama Vyoma* wherever it has been traced stands for either the *Śabala Brahman* called the *Akṣara* or the *abode of the Absolute Brahman* and that in relation to the individual it is identified at places with the *Ananda* and in that to the cosmos at others with the *Anantya* inherent in Brahman. The said Upaniṣad contains a lengthy exposition of the nature of the *Akṣara* which is also described as the *Antaryāmin* (The Immanent One) in the account of the debate between Yājñavalkya and several other Brahmins including the lady Gārgī at the Court of King Janaka.¹² It also contains in the reply by the same sage to a question of Janaka on another occasion an exposition of the *Ananda*-aspect of the *Ātman*, in which it has been differentiated from the *Ananda* as experienced in other regions than the *Brahmaloka*, the *Parama Ananda* of the *Ātman*.¹³ There are also references therein to the omnipresence, immortality, self-realisation, the omnipotence &c., of the Self residing in the *Ākāśa* in the heart of human beings &c.¹⁴ There is however a conspicuous absence throughout those long passages of the term *Parama Vyoma* and no other explanation of the nature of the *Brahmaloka* except that it itself is the *Parama Ananda* and at one place the *Jyotirmaya Amṛtamaya Puruṣa*, the individual heart called *Ātman* is said to correspond to the *Jyotirmaya Amṛtamaya Puruṣa* in "this *Akāśa*" called

11. Chā. Upa. V. 15. 1 ; VII. 12.

12. Bṛ. Upa. III. 1. 9.

13. Ibid IV. 3. 32-34.

14. Ibid IV. 4. 22.

Brahman. But so is the same *Puruṣa* as manifest in speech, vital breath &c said to correspond to the same kind of *Puruṣa* as manifest in external objects such as fire, wind &c. ¹⁵

11. Lastly, the *Muṇḍaka* too speaks of the location of the *Puruṣa* in the cavity (presumably of the heart), ¹⁶ of his being realisable there by concentration as of the nature of light and of his being identical with the omnipresent, immortal Brahman, ¹⁷ of his being located in the *Dīvyā Brahma-pura* (The Celestial City of Brahman) in the *Vyoma* and of men of steady mind, restrained senses and pure heart reaching the region of Brahman on being convinced of the knowledge contained in the Vedāntas (i.e. the Upaniṣads) ¹⁸ &c. It is remarkable however that the distinctive character of the *Vyoma* or *Ākāśa* constituting the abode of the Brahman or Ātman was getting gradually obliterated with the lapse of more and more time from the date of first Maṇḍala of the Rgveda.

Bhagavadgītā

12. Turning to the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is believed to contain the milk of the Upaniṣad-cows extracted by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, we notice that though it recommends the path of unqualified Bhakti towards and complete self-surrender to Vāsudeva as the easiest one for the attainment of the knowledge, of the truth and peace of mind, it is not only not silent as to the two older paths of Jñāna and Yoga or Brahmopāsanā but describes them in unmistakable language for the benefit of those who would be inclined to go by any of them, and reconciles all the three. The exposition of the nature of the *Akṣara-Brahman* with which we are here concerned is contained in Chapter VIII and in several other Chapters there are allusions to it made with a view to determine its position with reference to the world of objects and the Absolute Brahman is identified in this work with Vāsudeva and at some places called Puruṣot-

15. Ibid II. 5. 16. Muṇḍa. Upa. II. 1.10; II. 2.1, 7; III. 1.7; 2.7.

17. Ibid II. 2.9-11; III. 1.5. 18. Ibid III. 2-6.

19. Bha. Gītā, VIII. 3-22; III. 15; XI. 18, 37; XII. 3-5; XV. 16-19.

tama.¹⁹ The gist of the exposition is that the *Akṣara* is the *Paramam Brahma*, the *Antaryāmin* the *Avyakta* (Unmanifest), *Bhāva*, which is different from the *Avyākṛta* form of the *Prakṛti*, *Anirdeśya* (not describable), the *Paramā Gati* (the highest state which can be reached), the *Puruṣa*, the *Kūṭastha* (the silent witness of the activities of the intellect, mind, body firmly seated high above all as on an anvil), who is different from the *Kṣara Puruṣa*, the collective name of all the created beings and is to be meditated upon as the light (knowledge) and as of the colour of the sun behind the veil of darkness (ignorance). This leaves no doubt as to the *Puruṣa* in the body, the *Kūṭastha* being deemed to be identical with the *Akṣara-Brahman* who is immanent in everything and is the regulator of the life of all the creatures as the *Upaniṣads* teach. The *Vāsudeva* or *Puruṣottama* of this work might be deemed to correspond with the Absolute, his incarnation as *Kṛṣṇa* being its special manifestation brought into being with the help of his *Prakṛti* for the protection of the good and the chastisement of the wicked.²⁰ It is only the *Mūḍhāḥ* (the deluded ones) who look upon him as endowed with a human body because they are not aware of his *Para Bhāva* (highest state of existence) as the *Bhūta Maheśvara* (the Great Lord of Creatures). The great souls who have resorted to the *Daivī Prakṛtis* (Divine Nature) on the other hand know him to be the precursor of the creatures, and the indestructible one. ²¹ The state to which their souls are elevated is His *Para* or *Parama Dhāma* (highest abode), the *Śāśvata* (permanent), *Avyaya* and *Anāmaya Pada*, (the indestructible and faultless stage), the highest stage which the knowers of the *Vedas* reach and which persons who are self-restrained and devoid of attachment enter.²² That is the *Parā* or *Paramā, Anuttamā* or *Avyaktā Gati*.²³ In all these passages in vain do we look for any reference to the *Parama Vyoma* of the *Ṛgveda* and the earlier *Upaniṣads* and the *Antar-*

20. Ibid IV. 5-8 ; IX. 8-14.

21. Ibid IX. 11-13.

22. Ibid II, 51; VIII. 11, 21; X. 12; XI. 38, XV. 4-6.

23. Ibid VI- 37, 45; VII. 18; VIII. 13, 21, IX. 32; XII. 5; XIII. 28 XVI. 22, 23.

hṛdaya Ākāśa other than the *Ehūtākāśa* spoken of by the said Upaniṣads. The above stage is reached according to the *Gītā*, either by Abhyāsa-yoga or Dhyāna-yoga, by Jñāna-yoga or Sāṁkhya-yoga, or by Karma-yoga or Bhakti-yoga. The first alone involves concentration on the particular part of the body where the desired communion between the individual soul and the universal soul can be achieved. That part is the heart as well according to the *Gītā* as according to the Upaniṣads.²⁴ The mind is to be brought under control by Abhyāsa and Vairāgya (constant practice and freedom from attachment to sense-objects),²⁵ and to be pent up in the heart.²⁶ It only says that it is the seat of ignorance also,²⁷ that this takes the form of a veil of darkness and raises doubts that the self, Kūṭastha or Divya Puruṣa, who is of the nature of the light of lights, is beyond that veil of darkness,²⁸ that the sword of knowledge must be used in order to dispel the doubts and to be in communion with the Para Puruṣa, the Akṣara, the Brahmabhūya²⁹. The result is Nirvāṇa, Paramā Śānti, Śāntarajasa Brahmabhāva and Brahma-saṁ-sparsa, Uttama, Atyanta, Sukha.³⁰ This is experienced in the heart but we are left completely in the dark as to the nature of the substance of the heart itself. The word *Ākāśa* and its synonyms *Kha* and *Nabhas* do occur in the work either as single words or as parts of compound words³¹ but not at any place so as to justify us in concluding that the author of the *Gītā* approved of the above equation. In one place (XIII.32) it is the Upamāna to which the Ātman is compared on account of the common property unaffectedness but that cannot justify such a conclusion. We must therefore hold that the said equation to which philosophers had

24. Ibid XIII. 17; XV. 17; XVIII. 61. 25. Ibid VI. 35.

26. Ibid VIII. 12. 27. Ibid IV. 42. 28. Ibid XII. 17.

29. Ibid VIII. 10-11; XVIII. 53. 30. Ibid VI. 27-28.

31. Ibid VII. 4 (Ākāśa as one of the 8 varieties of Prakṛti) I. 16; VII. 8 (Ākāśa as having the property of sound); IX. 6 (Ākāśa as the receptacle of Vāyu); XIII 32 (Ākāśa as all-pervading and on account of subtlety remaining unaffected); XI. 24 (Ākāśa as the highest place which the Viśvarūpa of Kṛṣṇa touched).

become indifferent during the period of the Upaniṣads of the middle age, was consciously ignored by the composer of the *Gītā*.

13. The reason why he may have done so appears to me to be that whereas in the Upaniṣad age, philosophers were yet divided between themselves as to whether it was the Sat or the Asat and if Sat, whether it was a spirit called Brahman or some subtle non-spiritual substance, from which the world of physical bodies had evolved³², the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* had accepted the view that Brahman was the highest Puruṣa (Puruṣottama), that Jīvas or Puruṣas constituted one of his Prakṛtis and the five elements, Manas, Buddhi, and Ahaṅkāra the other, and that these two were not distinct from Brahman but formed part of it³³ and that therefore he wanted to avoid confusion between one of the forms of the second kind of Prakṛti and Brahman either as considered by itself or as it had first become manifest with a view to impregnate the Prakṛti so that the different beings may be brought into existence.³⁴

Brahasūtra

14. It is at this stage that the *Brahasūtra* comes in for consideration, according to my view, because I do not believe that the *Bhagavadgītā* contains evidence of the previous existence of any of the other highly-developed systems of philosophy which preceded the Vedānta and hold that the word *Brahasūtrapadaḥ* occurring in *Bhagavadgītā* XIII. 3 must be held to refer to the words in cryptic sentences of the Vedas, the word Brahman there having that meaning as in III. 15 (Karma Brahmodbhavaṁ viddhi, Brahmākṣara samudbhavam).

32. See Chā. Upa. VI. 2.2; Br. Upa. V. 5; Tai. Upa. II. 7.

33. Bha. Gītā VII. 4-6; XIII. 19-22. This does not seem to be quite a new theory but a Bhagavadgītā development of the theory of the Upaniṣad period contained in Br. Upa. I. 1-7 which does not seem to have been connected with any known sage of the post-Kṛṣṇa or post-Dvāipāyana period.

34. Ibid XIV. 3.

15. As stated above, many systems had been logically evolved out of the cryptic and fragmentary materials available to the philosophers of the Sūtra age, before Bādarāyaṇa set to himself the task of evolving a system out of the texts only of the Upaniṣads that were available to him. This system consequently came to be known as the Vedānta system. Although originally it must have formed the Uttara (latter) portion of the Mīmāṃsā School Śaṅkara tries hard to prove that it was not so. Bādarāyaṇa started with a promise to impart the knowledge of Brahman which according to the view accepted by him was the source of the creation &c. of this phenomenal world, and as the source of this knowledge he fixed upon the Śāstra (i. e. the Mokṣāśāstra or the Upaniṣad portion of the Vedas). But how was he to do that in face of the fact that the texts did not seem to be harmonious? He promised that he would do that by a Samanvaya (co-ordination or harmonisation) of the various Upaniṣad texts bearing on the point.³⁵ This process is carried on throughout the remaining portion of the first Adhyāya which like the other Adhyāyas is sub-divided into four Pādas and each of the Pādas into several Adhikaraṇas i. e. one or more Sūtras comprising the arguments of the author which form links in a chain. One of such Adhikaraṇas in Pāda 1 of that Adhyāya is the *Ākāśādhikaraṇa* which consists of one Sūtra only.³⁶ As its title indicates, it embodies the conclusion of the author as to the point whether the term *Ākāśa* used in some of the Upaniṣad texts such as Cha. I. 9.1. IV. 10.5; VIII. 14.1; Tai II, 7; III. 6: Br. V. 1, and the Saṃhitā text R. V. I. 22. 164.39 should be understood to mean the gross element of that name or Brahman which has been made known by a previous Sūtra³⁷ as that from which this (Universe) derives its origin, &c. The conclusion is that it is the latter because it is its *Linga* (i. e. symbol or image). This conclusion does not appear clearly from the cryptic language of the Sūtra itself but can be gathered from it when it is read in the context of the previous three Adhikaraṇas

35. Bra. Sū. I.4. 36. Ibid I. 1.22. 37. Ibid I. 1.2.

namely the *Īkṣatyādhikaraṇa*, *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa* and *Antarādhikaraṇa*.³⁸ The first thereof establishes that the cause of the evolution &c. of the Universe is *not* an Acetana (inert) substance like the *Pradhāna* of the Sāṃkhya but the self-resplendent *Paramātman* or *Para Brahman*, the second that the said Ātman or Brahman is *Ānandamaya* (of the nature of joy or bliss) and the third, that it is not the same as any of the presiding deities of the Sun, the Moon etc. but the Antaryāmin (The Inner Regulator or Ruler) of all of them. The nature of Brahman being thus established the question naturally arises, "By what terms is it mentioned or referred to in the Scripture?" The author's answer to it is contained in a series of *Adhikaraṇas* beginning with the *Ākāśādhikaraṇa* (Bra. Sū. I. 1.22).

16. We thus see that the Brahma-Ākāśa equation, which can be traced to the Ṛgveda and can be seen to have formed part of the philosophical creed of the sages of the earlier Upaniṣads, but to have been ignored by those of the later except one and the author of the *Bhagavadgītā*, was again restored to its position in the creed in a systematic manner by the author of the Brahmasūtra. *Ākāśa* has its special importance because even the *Bhūtākāśa* has inherited some of the peculiar characteristics of Brahman, besides mere existence namely, infiniteness, formlessness, colourlessness and unaffectedness and is also that from which everything emerges, in which everything is contained and supported and that in which every tangible object in all the three worlds is absorbed at the time of all the Pralayas except the Mahāpralaya. Moreover *Parama Vyoma* is a relative term. It signifies an entity which is called *Vyoma* because it resembles the *Bhūtākāśa* in other respects and is distinguished from it by the qualifying word *Parama* because it differs from it in being not an element but a manifestation of the Absolute, which was a precursor and source of the potential energy from which the elements even in their subtle forms were subsequently evolved. Let us therefore see what fate the equation met

38. Ibid I. 1.5-11, 12-19 and 20-21.

with at the hands of the successors of Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedānta field.

Gauḍapāda Kārikā

17. The next great work of the Advaita Vedānta after the *Brahmasūtra* that is available to us is the *Gauḍapāda-Kārikā*. The Brahma-Ākāśa equation is accepted as an established fact at several places in that work. Thus in an introductory verse therein,³⁹ it is stated that Brahman resides in the *Ākāśa* constituting the heart as the *Prājña*. Further in the third Adhyāya *Paramātmān* is compared to the big *Ākāśa* and the Jīva to the *Ākāśa* enclosed in a pot.⁴⁰ In the introductory verse of the fourth Adhyāya Brahman is said to become manifest as *jñāna* which is similar to *Ākāśa*.⁴¹ Besides these direct references there are several indirect ones in that work. Thus for instance, the author having in Adhyāya two put the experience in the Jāgrat state on the same level as that in the Svapna⁴², wherein one sees numerous objects on the background of the Hṛdayākāśa and has various kinds of experiences and feelings and established in Adhyāya three the Ajātivāda, the theory of the denial of the creation of the universe as an objective reality⁴³ and confirmed it in Adhyāya four on refuting the Bijāṅkuravāda of the Sāṃkhya and some other Vādas of the Buddhist philosophers such as the Bāhyārthavāda, Kṣaṇika Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda,⁴⁴ it must be believed that he had accepted in full the Upaniṣad theory that Brahman in its first manifestation as the *Parama Vyoma* is the substratum of the periodical appearance and disappearance of the worldly phenomena and had even developed it on its individualistic side.

Śaṅkarabhāṣya and the Glosses Thereon

18. In spite of this contribution of Gauḍapāda it was left for Śaṅkara to establish the reasonability and authoritativeness of the equation in question. In his Bhāṣya on

39. Gau. Kā. I. 2. 40. Ibid III. 3-9. 41. Ibid IV. 1.

42. Ibid II. 1-16; 31; IV. 29-41. 43. Ibid III. 20-30, 48.

44. Ibid IV. 3-4, 20-23, 24-27, 28.

Bra.Sū. I. 1.22 he says⁴⁵ that although it is true that the term *Ākāśa* ordinarily connotes the first element, it is used at times both in the Vedic and the classical literatures to signify Brahman and that therefore where from the context or from the mention of some uncommon attribute, the ordinary meaning does not fit in, the said extra-ordinary meaning must be deemed to have been intended to be conveyed. He makes this position clear by adding that the question in Chā. I. 9.1 being "Where do the people of this region go after death"? and the answer being "All the created beings having been produced from the *Ākāśa*, go back to it, which is superior to this region and is the highest goal," the ordinary meaning does not fit in because the physical space is a part of this region and is not the highest goal and *that therefore* what must be deemed to have been meant by the term must be the *Parama Brahma*. This is further made quite clear by him by quoting and explaining other texts such as Br. III. 9.28; IV. 10.5 ; R̥gveda. 1.22.164.39 and Tai. III.6. Any doubts that may arise from his statements have again been cleared up by two of the writers of glosses on his Bhāṣya, namely Vācaspati Miśra and Amalānanda.⁴⁶

19. We thus see that the equation *Brahma-Ākāśa* had been established logically and on the authority of certain Vedic and Upaniṣad texts and accepted by Śaṅkara and his followers who had written glosses on his Bhāṣya.

20. Now if the term *Ākāśa* when used as a synonym of *Brahman* is distinguishable from the first element, what is to be understood by it? As to that it is clear from Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa* ⁴⁷ that he believed it to be identical with *Ānanda* (joy or bliss) when considered from the standpoint of the individual and with *Ānantya* (infiniteness) when considered from the standpoint of the cosmic or supreme soul. This joy or bliss and this infiniteness are not attributes

45. Nirṇaya Sagar Press-edition pp. 198-01. 46. Ibid pp. 196.01.

47. Bra. Sū. I 1.12-19, 22 (N. S. P. edition pp.179-91). See also p.201 where he says that the *Ānantya* spoken of in Chā. I. 9.2 is a characteristic of Brahman.

of the individual or supreme soul but form part of their nature. This then is nothing else but the third aspect of Brahman mentioned in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* text *Satyam jñānamanantam Brahma* wherein all the three aspects, namely *Satyam*, *Jñānam* and *Anantyam* have been mentioned. All these three are summed up in the one word *Saccidānanda*, occurring in a later Vedānta work very often, wherein *Satyam* is contracted into *Sat*, *Jñānam* has been spoken of as the *Cit* and *Anantyam* as *Ānanda* with which it is identical. There are several other texts in which the third aspect alone has been emphasised.⁴⁸ The two other aspects have two other Adhikaraṇas assigned to them namely, the *Prāṇādhikaraṇa*⁴⁹, to which the *Pratardanādhikaraṇa*⁵⁰ is ancillary, and the *Jyotiradhikaraṇa*.⁵¹ The first has, according to Śaṅkara, reference to the *Prāṇa-devatā* of Chā. I. 11, 4-5 and the latter to the *Jyotis svarūpa* of the *Puruṣa* of Chā. III. 13.7. The *Prāṇa* in the former stands for the *Sadamśa*, the existence-aspect, and the *Jyoti* in the latter for the *Cidamśa*, the knowledge-aspect of Brahman. Śaṅkara and his followers have made these points very clear in their commentaries on those Adhikaraṇas.⁵²

Yogavāsiṣṭha

21. The present recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is a work on the Advaita Vedānta of the third or fourth quarter of the 10th Cent. A. D.,⁵³ though like the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, of which it purports to be a supplement, it is an expanded form of a previous smaller work. The nature of that work differs from that of those previously examined. It is neither comprised in the terms *Śruti* as the *Upaniṣads* are, nor is it a *Smṛti* like the *Bhagavadgītā*, nor a *Bhāṣya* or *Tīkā* on any of the three previous ones nor a *Vārttika* as such on any of them.

48. Tai. Upa. II. 5, 7, 8, 9; III. 6, VI 6; Br. Upa. III. 9, 28; IV 3, 32.

49. Bra. Sū. 1.1.23. 50. Ibid I. 1.28-31. 51. Ibid I. 1.24-27.

52. N. S. P. edition pp. 201-25.

53. Report of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda 1933,—“Date and Place of Origin of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*,” pp. 1-30.

nor a *Prakaraṇa-grantha* like the *Kārikā* but an *Āgama-grantha* i. e. to say, a work purporting 'to expound the principles of the Advaita School and to teach the method of their practical application to the problems arising in the life of an aspirant for knowledge by a lavish use of Purāṇic illustrations, some based on recorded traditions used with or without modifications, and others specially framed on making use of the names of persons, who had no existence on the face of the globe at any time, but who represent certain principles or dogmas forming part of the doctrine sought to be illustrated. It is with the latter class of illustrations occurring in the said work that we are here concerned.

22. Thus in the *Utpatti-prakaraṇa* of that work there is an illustration of the principle that Brahman is the cause, both instrumental and material, of the universe and that it is endless. The *Ākāśajopākhyāna* ⁵⁴ (The episode of the one who owes his existence to *Ākāśa* i. e. of the *Hiranyagarbha*) is a small one. Capturing the reader's mind by describing the saintly and lovely life of a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Ākāśaja* continued for aeons, it explains through an imaginary dialogue between *Mṛtyu* (Death personified) and *Yamarāja* or *Dharma-rāja* (God of Justice) that this being was without any tangible form owing to his having come into existence out of *Ākāśa*, which is the form which a *Samkalpa* (idea), arising spontaneously in Brahman, had taken, that therefore it was not and could not be subject to the power of the god of death and that it was by continued cogitation, whose length and extent could not be measured, that he had produced the *Jīvas*, time, space, the elements etc., and had hit upon the law of karma and put it into operation.

23. The author does not go into the questions of the evolution of the physical elements, the division of the universe into regions &c. in the said episode. He does that in a tale (*Ākhyāyikā*) which a sage named *Daśura* tells his son born of a *Vanadevī*.⁵⁵ Therein the majesty of *Khottha* (the one who had come into existence from the *Kha* i. e. the

54. Y. V. III. 2.

55. Ibid IV. 52.

Avyākṛtākāśa or Brahmākāśa as explained by the commentator Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī) has been described by comparing him to an Emperor and the universe to a city laid out by him with streets, houses, high-ways, tanks, wells, gardens &c. He is said to have made arrangements therein for supplying light, heat and cold, constructed pleasure-resorts and trade-routes, to have assigned different parts of the city to different kinds of beings, to have posted Yakṣas like policemen for their protection, and to have been treating them like birds inside cages, whom he would sometimes fondle and feed and sometimes kill also. He is also said to be actuated at times by a desire to destroy parts of the city or even the whole of it and create a new one after a time and so on.

24. Further up, there is an episode called *Pāṣāṇā-khyāna* (literally, an episode of the stone, which, in fact, is not a stone but is the Avyākṛta metaphorically called so) in the Uttarārḍha of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa.⁵⁶ The processes of evolution and involution taking place in a small portion thereof are described in very great details in that episode in a poetic manner by introducing a subsidiary dialogue between a sage, who after wandering over all the places of pilgrimage was returning dissatisfied to his own abode, and the primitive sage Vasiṣṭha, believed to be perpetually residing in the sky in the constellation called Saptarṣi (Great Bear) but temporarily descended to the earth in order to go to meet a ruling monarch for some purpose. The latter sage instructs the former in the nature of the worldly phenomena, how and why it appears to exist and subside and how the mind can find perfect peace of mind when it realises the truth about the phenomena, and the true nature of the *Cit*, which is the self of man. What gives a lively touch to this instruction is that the sage Vasiṣṭha imparts it indirectly by describing the aberrations of his own soul in the state of Samādhi, during which it is freed from individuality but had still retained the curiosity to know the different parts of the

56. Ibid VI/2. 56 to 95.

Universe, the conditions prevailing in and the beings residing in each of them &c. There must necessarily be some kind of vacuum in every stage of consciousness through which he had passed and in which he had some objective experiences and he distinguishes the vacuum at the various stages by giving names derived from the stages coupled with the word *Ākāśa*. Consequently one meets with the following varieties of *Ākāśa* in this narrative namely:— (1) *Cittākāśa*, (2) *Cidākāśa*, (3) *Bhūtākāśa*, (4) *Mahākāśa*, (5) *Saṁvidākāśa* and (6) *Brahmākāśa* or *Avyākṛtākāśa*. It was when he reached the *Saṁvidākāśa* that he was inspired by the knowledge, itself a kind of *Ākāśa* (light), that the *ṣaḍgajjala* (the net-work of the phenomenal world) was nothing else but the *Brahmavyoma*, and lastly, when he realised that the said *Vyoma* was but the vacuum perceivable in only a hole or cavity in the vast expanse of the *Pāśāṇa* (stone-slab) of the *Avyākṛta*, he became disillusioned. The wandering ascetic to whom the sage *Vasiṣṭha* had narrated this experience had no more attachment left in his mind for his home and went to a solitary place to strive to visualise the truth like his teacher. Here then one finds distinctions drawn not only between the *Ākāśa* in the heart and the *Ākāśa* round about us and between the latter and the *Parama Vyoma* or *Brahmavyoma* but also between the *Ākāśa* met with at the different stages through which one's consciousness passes in its progress from the *Ākāśa* of the mind (*Cittākāśa*) to the *Brahmākāśa*. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* thus reaches the high-water mark in the development of the Brahma-Ākāśa equation.

25. There is one more relevant passage in the episode of King *Vipaścit* which *Vasiṣṭha* narrates in reply to *Rāma*'s question whether the *Avidyā* (Ignorance) which takes the form of the universe with its manifold differences has or has not an end.⁵⁷ It is a short passage of 5 stanzas forming part of a *Sarga*,⁵⁸ in which the followers of King *Vipaścit* draw his attention to the different aspects of a mountain scenery. The speaker says:—"Fie on the learning of him

57. Ibid VI/2. 108-63.

58. Ibid 116.24-28.

who called the *Vyoma* a void though lakhs of worlds are evolved from and absorbed in it. It was madness on the part of him who propounded the view that there was a creator called *Īśvara* although we see that the creatures are evolved from and absorbed in the *Vyoma*. Since the variety of creations emerge from and fall back into the pure *Kha* which has no beginning and middle part, like sparks emerging from and falling into fire, I believe that it alone, not any other entity called *Īśvara*, is the cause thereof". Lastly, lest one should be led to believe that he meant to exalt the physical element ether to the position of Brahman, he winds up his exclamation by saying:—"I believe that the entity in which the delusion of the Universe arises and subsides like bubbles in an ocean is nothing else but the *Parama Vyoma* which is the body of the *Cit* and the more expansive support of countless gems called the three worlds and bears within itself countless objects whose size cannot be measured". Although this looks like a poetic fancy put in the mouth of a follower of the imaginary King Vipaścīt, there is no doubt that it puts forth in a few stanzas, the same view which the author has tried in various ways to establish in the substantial part of the work commencing from the beginning of the *Utpatti* to the end of the latter half of the *Nirvāṇa Prakaraṇa*.

26. It is thus in this work that we find the full and fearless logical development of the original *Brahma-Ākāśa* equation, whose root lay in a *Rgveda* Mantra, which had been set forth without any arguments but only as a fact of spiritual experience by some of the sages of the *Earlier Upaniṣads*, which had only been hinted at by some of the sages of the *Later Upaniṣads* called those of the middle period, had been ignored by the author of the *Bhagavadgīta* but was later on re-affirmed by that of the *Brahmasūtra*, as a correct formula in a systematic exposition of the purport of the *Upaniṣad* teaching, accepted and developed on its individualistic side by the author of the *Kārikā*, and logically and authoritatively expounded and certified as a correct formula by Śaṅkara and his followers. This author worked out that formula in all its

bearings on the cosmic and individualistic sides and made it intelligible to dull minds by describing minutely each step therein and tried to carry the reader with himself by producing before him on a screen, as it were, a projected picture of the different stages through which the human consciousness passes in its attempt to realise the truth expressed but succinctly in the formula.

Pañcadaśī

27. Let us now see what treatment it had met with after the above work became known to the seekers of truth in India. The earliest well-known Vedāntin to whom it seems to have become known is Vidyāraṇya, the Founder of the Later Advaita School. About this there can be no doubt because his *Jīvanmukti-viveka* contains allusions to several of the episodes occurring in that work and quotations of long passages taken avowedly therefrom in order to throw new light on the states of Jīvanmukti and Videhamukti, to explain for the first time what is Vāsanākṣaya (eradication of latent desire), what is Manonāśa (destruction of the lower mind) and what is Vijñāna (realisation of knowledge) and many other subsidiary topics discussed in the first 3 Prakaraṇas of that work.⁵⁹ In that work the exposition of the nature of Brahman or Ātman does not find a place but the fourth Prakaraṇa entitled *Svarūpa-siddhi-prayojana*, contains a reference to the fourth Adhyāya of the Supplement by this author to his Guru Bhāratīrtha's work, entitled *Vidyānanda* in *Brahmānanda*⁶⁰. To that therefore we now turn.

59. *Jīvanmukti-viveka* (Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. 20). The episodes referred to therein are those of Uddālaka and Viṭahavya (p. 138), Dāśura (p. 242), Janaka (pp. 256-57, 273-274, 283, 327), Bhagīratha, (pp. 257, 262), Bali (p. 270), Uddālaka alone (pp. 272, 272, 299-00), Śikhidhvaja, (p. 319), Prahlāda (p. 319), Viṭahavya alone (p. 319) and Śuka (p. 327). Long extracts are found at pp. 147-60, 167-74, 175-76, 178-79, 202-09, 221, 235-36, 248, 251-2, 260-67, 272-73, 280-81, 282, 283-84, 285, 288, 291, 297-98, 299-00, 305, 308, 309, 318, 321-22, 326-27, 345-47, 349-50, 358, 360 and 363 of the edition.

60. Ibid p. 358. There is a reference to the *Pañcadaśī* at p. 267 of the same work but the topic there is different.

28. That work too relies upon the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in IV. 63 where it says that when the mind is conquered by the Upāsanā of the Praṇava it becomes devoid of emotions and remains firm as that of a dumb man. In III. 14-28 again, the substance of a fable told by a nurse to a king's child found in the Utpatti-prakaraṇa of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the different ways in which the Parā Śakti of Brahman becomes manifest have been described by the author in verses copied out almost word for word from the said work. We could have therefore expected to find therein a view with respect to the equation under consideration exactly in consonance with that propounded in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. What we do actually find is the view (as gathered on a consideration of several passages occurring in Chapters I, II, III, V and VI) ⁶¹ is that Brahman is *Saccidānanda-svarūpa* and the Ātman is identical with it: but that it is not proper to say that Brahman is identical with or of the same nature as *Ākāśa* except so far that *Ākāśa* like any other entity of the phenomenal world is in essence Brahman because whereas *Ākāśa* has the attributes of existence and infiniteness in common with other objects as distinguished from them, it has other attributes such as those of vacuity, sound-conveying &c., which do not belong to Brahman or any other object and therefore distinguish it from both. This should not be understood as tantamount to denying the self-resplendence of Brahman or Ātman but as putting forth the view that it is better to confine the use of the term *Ākāśa* to the first element in order not to give cause for any misconception as to the identity of Brahman or Ātman with that element which the said term connotes in ordinary parlance.

29. Agreeably to this view when in Chapter VI, the author comes to define the four states of the Cit corresponding to the four of the said elements, namely *Ghaṭākāśa*, *Mahākāśa*, *Ālākāśa* and *Abhrākāśa*, ⁶² we find him studiously avoiding

61. Pañcadaśī with the ṭikā of Rāmakaṣṇa (Nirṇaya Sagar Press edition) I. 8-11, 14; II. 59-77; III. 35-36, 37-42; V. 8; VI. 18, 85, 88-93, 111, 153-57, 194, 198, 224, 237.

62. Ibid VI/2.18, 153-57, 194, 224.

the use of the term *Cidākāśa* or any of its synonyms *Cidambara*, *Citkha*, &c. and using instead of the term *Cidābhāsa* (a substance of the Cit). When however we look into the 8th Chapter, we not only find an acceptance of the view of the earlier Vedāntins abovementioned but also a use made of the word *Cidākāśa* as a synonym of Brahman on the authority of some *Śaiva Purāṇas*.⁶³ In the 10th Chapter again we find the *Ātman* called *Cidvapuḥ*, a term borrowed from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which means "that which has intelligence or knowledge as its embodiment" and such *Ātman* described as the cause of the manifestation of the Ahaṅkāra, the sense-organs and also the objects of sense-perception.⁶⁴

30. Lastly we turn to the last five *Brahmānanda* Chapters, whose peculiar position with regard to the 10 preceding ones which go to make up the 15 chapters of the so-called *Pañcadaśī* and the peculiar nature of whose contents were fully discussed by me in my paper on the "Problems of *Pañcadaśī*."⁶⁵ These Chapters present an exhaustive and analytical study of the *Ānanda-aspect of Brahman* or *Ātman*, both with reference to the macrocosm and the microcosm. The nature of the said entity is summed up in the one compound word *Saccidānanda* on the authority of the *Nṛsimha Uttara tāpanīya Upaniṣad*, evidently a late Śaivite addition to the original *Nṛsimha (Purva-) tāpanīya Upaniṣad*.⁶⁶ It is said to be immanent in all the sentient and insentient crea-

63. Ibid VIII. 58-75. The author therein says that the Highest Essence which is of the nature of *Ānanda* and perfect and the cause of the manifestation of everything and is connected with everything perpetually is called *Śiva* (bliss), that the *Cidākāśa* is not in any way affected by the appearance and disappearance of the worlds like rain from the cloud of *Māyā*, that this is the conclusion which a wise man arrives at on understanding the purport of all the relevant Vedic texts and that it is only a dullard who becomes involved in doubts.

64. Ibid X. 9.

65. B. O. R. I. Annals Vol. XIX pp. 290-97.

66. Ibid XIII. 62. Even the *Pūrvatāpanīya* exhibits a Śākta bias and could not therefore have been composed earlier than the 5th Cent. A. D. (See Winternitz, His of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, Calcutta edition, p. 590 n.)

tures, and to become manifest in all the objects of experience differing in names and forms by virtue of its Parā Śakti, also called Māyā in the form of the inherent natural powers of those objects.⁶⁷ In tracing the three aspects, *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ānanda* to the *Earlier Upaniṣads*, the author refers to the teaching of Sanatkumāra to Nārada contained in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad VII. 1-26*.⁶⁸ The purport of that teaching is that Bhūmā is the happiness which everyone desirous of putting an end to the dejection and dissatisfaction felt after every science is learnt and every kind of enjoyment is experienced.⁶⁹ On being asked to explain the nature of that happiness, the sage does so in three sections (24-26) from which it is clear as crystal that Bhūmā means the Brahman, the Infinite, the Immutable, the Omnipresent, the Omniscient, Ātman, the source, the kernel, the support and the final goal of all that was, is and will be. There can be no doubt that the *Ānantya* (infiniteness) of Brahman corresponds to the *Ānanda* of the Ātman; the *Satya* of the former to the *Sat* of the latter, and *Ĵñāna* of the former to the *Cit* of the latter. Vidyāraṇya explains later on in great details how one can realise this *Saccidānanda*, which having become manifest in every object makes it exist and enables it to be the subject of thought and a source of happiness, even in the state of one's being engaged in one's daily avocations, with the mind and the senses left open to receive knowledge of the external objects, if as soon as cognition of any of them takes place one ignores the name and the form thereof, which differ with each of them, concentrates one's attention on the three common factors, *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*, all of which are prominent in some, and two or at least one, prominent and the others, dormant in all the rest of the objects, in all the three worlds, whatever their names and forms. This kind of

67. Ibid 13-28. This passage is avowedly based on the authority of an exposition of that Śakti contained in Yogavāsiṣṭha III, which is also illustrated by a parable called Bālakākhyāyikā.

69. Chā. Upa. VII. 23,

discriminative perception does not come in the way of the efficient discharge of one's duties.⁷⁰

31. We find here an acceptance by Vidyāraṇya of the old equation Brahma-Ākāśa, wherein the latter term stood not for the first element but the inherent light, the inherent power of manifestation of Brahman or Cit or his *Cicchakti*, because *Ānantya* is one of the characteristics (Lakṣaṇa) of Brahman and that author has accepted it as such, not by the name *Ākāśa* but by the name *Ānanda*. In doing so he has emphasised the individualistic aspect of the equation, following Gauḍapāda. Nevertheless taking advantage of his knowledge of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the *Nṛsiṃha Uttaratāpanīya Upaniṣad* and the *Śaiva Purāṇas* he has provided another formula, based no doubt on the said older one, for the realisation of the pure Saccidānanda Ātman in the whole of the phenomenal world so as to enable aspirants to secure spiritual advancement up to the highest pitch while continuing to discharge one's duties in life. He has thus elaborately worked out the theory of the universal prevalence of the Divine Love, in which Yājñavalkya had so ably initiated his wife Maitreyī and supplied the means for the realisation thereof without shutting one's eyes to the phenomena, without retiring into a forest and without stopping the normal activities of the human mind and the senses. And whereas the equation under consideration emphasised only one aspect of the Ātman, he brought into one focus all the three aspects thereof in which it becomes manifest in the world of experience.

Concluding Remarks

32. Taking a bird's-eye-view of the above investigation into the history of the Brahma-Ākāśa equation, both prior and subsequent to its formation, we find that the belief in the truth underlying the equation goes back to the early part of

70. Pañcadaśī XIII. 78-104. The mental exercise involved in this process has been fully and clearly explained in these stanzas but with it we are not here concerned.

the Vedic period when the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda was composed, that it was there too made clear that Brahman did not mean the absolute but the Akṣara, the first manifestation of Brahman and that the *Ākāśa* referred to there by its synonym *Vyoma* was not the *Bhūtākāśa* but the *Parama Ākāśa* the highest variety of it, that the sages of the early Upaniṣad period accepted this equation, further discovered that there was also an *Ākāśa* in and identical with the heart of man which was different from the *Bhūtākāśa* and having investigated its nature they put down another equation namely, Akṣara Brahman or Parama Vyoma = Ātman or Puruṣa, Antaṛhṛdayākāśa. The sages of the Middle Upaniṣad age accepted the latter equation in the form Brahman = Ātman but some remained silent as to the nature of that entity while others admitted that the pure Ātman had a place of abode in the body but preferred to call it a Guhā (cave) and confined the use of the term *Ākāśa* to the first element, that the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* too while accepting the view that the *Puruṣa* in the body, the *Kūṭastha*, was the same as *Param Brahman* and could be realised in a state of perfect repose in the form of a light, ignored the nature of the abodes of both the *Ākāśa* in the universe and of the *Puruṣa* in the body, that Bādarāyaṇa set down in the *Brahmasūtra* the original equation in a systematic form, that Gauḍapāda accepted its correctness and even developed it partly on the individualistic side by comparing in his *Kārikā* the phenomena on the screen of the ether to the dream-world appearing in the human heart in the space created by the self for its own use, that Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* and his followers Vācaspati and Amalānanda in their Glosses put the equation on a logical and authoritative basis, refuting all possible objections and explaining doubtful points, that the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* carried the equation to its logical conclusion and illustrated each step therein by describing the experience of the primitive sage Vasiṣṭha in the state of Samādhi and that lastly, Swāmi Vidyāraṇya part author of the *Pañcadaśī* while making full use of his knowledge of the

last-named work and the other extant literature on the subject known to him adopted a compound word *Saccidānanda* for designating the *Akṣara-Brahman* and the *Ātmā-puruṣa* which brought into relief all the three aspects of the entity and pointed out a method by which its presence can be realised by each individual without renouncing the world, without stopping all the ordinary human activities and without shutting out the experience usually gained by the operation of the mind and the senses. The doubt raised by the use of the term *Ākāśa* was thus avoided and the doctrine of the universal prevalence of the Divine Love was substituted for such prevalence of the impersonal Brahman.

A NOTE ON MAHĀBHĀRATA 1.224.12

(ED. SUKTHANKAR)

By P. E. DUMONT

*na hi pakṣavatā nyāyyaṃ niḥsnehena suhṛjjane
pīḍyamāna upadraṣṭuṃ śaktenā "tmā katham ca na
M. Bh. Ed. Sukthankar I.224.12*

This śloka is to be found in the story of Mandapāla (chapter 224 of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata). Mandapāla was a great Ṛṣi who, having left human form and having gone to the region of the Pitaras, failed to obtain the expected fruit of his ascetic penances, because he had no offspring. In order to obtain offspring within the shortest time, Mandapāla then assumed the form of a Sāraṅgaka bird and united with a female of the same species called Jaritā; and he begot four sons. But, leaving those sons of his and their mother in a forest, Mandapāla went to another female called Lapitā. Some time after, the Ṛṣi, wandering over the forest, in the company of Lapitā, saw Agni coming towards that forest to burn it down; and, knowing the intention of Agni, he addressed the god of fire, praised him, and entreated him to spare his children. And the god replied: "So be it." Nevertheless, as the forest was burning, Mandapāla became very anxious about his children, and he said to Lapitā: "O Lapitā, when the fire grows in strength and the wind begins to blow violently, my children will scarcely be able to save themselves. How shall their mother be able to rescue them? That innocent will be afflicted with sorrow when she finds herself unable to save her offspring!" But Lapitā under the influence of jealousy (*sāsūyam*) replied: "You have no anxiety on account of your sons who, you have assured me, are Ṛṣis endowed with energy and courage. They have no fear of fire. You have entrusted them to Agni in my presence. And the magnanimous god has promised to save them. Agni, the protector of the world, will not break his word. Certainly because of that friendly service your mind is at peace (and you

have no anxiety on account of your children). But it is only by thinking of my enemy (Jaritā) that you are distressed (*paritapyase*). It is certain that the love you have for me (*mayi snehaḥ*) is not equal to the love you had at first for her." And she adds :

*na hi pakṣavatā nyāyyaṃ niḥsnehena suhr̥jjane
pīḍyamāna upadraṣṭuṃ śaktenā "tmā katham ca na*

According to a note in Garbe's edition of Böhtlingk's Sanskrit Chrestomathie, Pischel proposed the following translation : "Denn es gehört sich durchaus nicht, dass Jemand, der eigene Kraft hat (*śaktena*), ruhig zusieht, wie er von einem parteiischen (*pakṣavatā*) Menschen, der keine Liebe zu den Freunden hat, gequält wird."—"For it is not at all proper that someone who has power of his own looks on with indifference how he is tormented by a partial person who has no love for his friends."

This translation seems to me quite unacceptable. First, it is not clear. If it means "It is not proper that someone who has power of his own (like me, Lapidā) looks on with indifference when he is tormented by a partial person (like you, Mandapāla) who has no love for his friends," it is strange that Lapidā, speaking of herself, should use the masculine *śaktena*. If it means "It is not proper that some one who has power of his own (like you, Mandapāla) looks on with indifference how he is tormented by a partial person who has no love for his friends," we do not understand how it may be said that Mandapāla is tormented by a partial person who has no love for his friends. This could only be Lapidā, who, however, would surely not characterize herself in this fashion.

Second, *śakta* does not really mean "der eigene Kraft hat" or "who has power of his own." It means "able to" and is generally used with the infinitive as we have here *upadraṣṭum*.

Third, although Nilakanṭha, in his comment ary, explains *upadraṣṭum* by *upekṣitum*, it is not at all sure that *upadraṣṭum* can mean "to disregard, to look on with indifference." The

only passage given, by the dictionary for this meaning is this very passage. *upadarśati* simply means "to see, to perceive"; and *upadrśyate* means "to be perceived, to appear, to look."

Fourth, if we consider the preceding śloka in which Lapitā reproaches Mandapāla by saying : "It is only by thinking of my enemy (Jaritā) that you are distressed. It is certain that the love you have for me is not equal to the love you had at first for her," it seems very probable that the person designated by *niḥsnehena* and *pīḍyamānaḥ* is Mandapāla.

I, therefore, propose to translate :

"For it is not at all usual (or customary) (*na hi nyāyyam ...katham ca na*) that someone who is without love for a friend (*niḥsnehena suhrjjane*) (as you pretend to be) should be partial (*pakṣavatā*) (should take side) (as you do) and could himself look distressed (as you do)" [i. e. "should be able (*śaktena*) to appear (*upadraṣṭum*) himself (*ātmā*) as distressed (*pīḍyamānaḥ*)"].

If we consider the context and the situation, this interpretation is certainly preferable. Lapitā is jealous (*sāsūyā*) ; she does not believe that Mandapāla is really anxious about his children (*na te putreṣv avekṣā' sti*) ; but she is convinced that he is still in love with his wife Jaritā. The proof of it is that he takes her side and has the appearance of being himself distressed by the distress of his beloved. And it is not customary that someone who is without love for a friend should take sides and could look distressed.

But there is a difficulty. *nyāyyam* is usually construed with the infinitive and the subject of the infinitive in the instrumental ; and *śakta*, also is construed with the infinitive. If, as I believe, *upadraṣṭum* depends on *śaktena*, we must admit that an infinitive, *bhavitum*, depending on *nyāyyam*, is understood. That is to say that we here have a construction comparable with "*tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam*" "I must always be your companion." (Cf. Pat. I. p. 39. *tatrā 'śakyam varṇenā 'py anarthakena bhavitum* : there not a single letter can be meaningless.) This hypothesis, consisting

in supposing that *bhavitum* is understood, is supported by the variant of the MSS T. 3; G.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; *na hi pakṣavatā bhāvyaṃ niḥsnehena suhrjjane*: "for someone who is without love for a friend would not take sides." *śaktena* like *pakṣavatā* depends on *nyāyyaṃ (bhavitum)*. *śakta* has the same meaning as *śakya* and, in fact, we find the reading *śakyo na* in many MSS: T. 3; G.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and M. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.—*śakya* may be construed in three ways: one may say: *sa śakyo draṣṭum* or *śakyaṃ so draṣṭum* (he can be seen, one can see him), or *śakyaṃ mayā taṃ draṣṭum* (I can see him). *śakta* is construed in the same way. The Kāśikā teaches that the form *śakita* is to be used with an infinitive in the passive voice and *śakta* with an infinitive in the active voice; but it adds that *śakta* may be used even with the infinitive in the passive voice and that one may say *śakito ghaṭaḥ kartum* or *śakto ghaṭaḥ kartum* (a pot can be made). Consequently *śakta upadraṣṭum ātmā* means "he himself can be seen, can appear, can look." If we had the nominative *śaktaḥ* as we have in the variant of the MS Ś. 1; and K. 1 (*pīḍyamāna upādraṣṭum śakto nā "tmā katham ca na*) the construction would be easy. The construction in our text seems strange only because we have the instrumental *śaktena* which depends on *nyāyyaṃ (bhavitum)*, and the nominative *ātmā* which is the subject of the infinitive in the passive voice; but we must bear in mind that we have a similar discrepancy in the very common construction *śakyaṃ so draṣṭum*.

I think that the variant of the MSS T.3 and G.3, 4, 6 gives support to my interpretation. It reads :

na hi pakṣavatā bhāvyaṃ niḥsnehena suhrjjane
pīḍyamāna upaspraṣṭum śakyo nā "tmā katham ca na

"For someone who is without love for a friend would (in all probability) not be taking sides; he could not at all feel himself as being distressed."

Additional remarks.

A. Let us first examine the text of Mss T3; G3; G4; G6.—
 BV. IX-12

I do not think that it is the best reading, but the construction is easier.

*na hi pakṣavatā bhāvyam nihsnehena suhrjjane
pīḍyamāna upaspraṣṭum śakyo nā "tmā katham ca na*

"For (hi) some one who is without love for a friend (*nihsnehena suhrjjane*) would, in all probability, not be taking sides (*na pakṣavatā bhāvyam*). He (some one who is without love for a friend) could not at all feel himself as being distressed (or : could not at all himself be felt as being distressed)."

na pakṣavatā bhāvyam nihsnehena : cf. : *tasya ca śabdānurūpeṇa parākrameṇa bhāvyam* : "and his strength must be (in all probability will be) corresponding to his voice." Cf. : *tava 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam* : "I must always be your companion."

pīḍyamāna upaspraṣṭum śakyo nā "tmā : cf. : *sa śakyo draṣṭum* : "one can see him; he can be seen," *śakyāv ihā "netum* : "they two can be brought hither."

We may assume that this text of Mss T3; G3; G4; G6 is a *lectio facilior* and that the general meaning in the other texts must be almost the same.

B. The text of Ś I and K I is :

*na hi pakṣavatā nyāyyam nihsnehena suhrjjane
pīḍyamāna upādraṣṭum śakto nā "tmā katham ca na*

"For it is not usual (or : customary) that someone who is without love for a friend should be taking sides. He could not at all himself look distressed (he could not at all be able to appear himself as distressed)."

We have here *nyāyyam* instead of *bhāvyam*. I think that the meaning must be almost the same, and that *nyāyyam* = *nyāyyam bhavitum*.

Since *bhavati*, *bhavanti*, *bhūyāt* or *bhavatu* are often understood, I suppose that *bhavitum* may be understood. *Bhāvyam* = it will in all probability be, it must be. *Nyāyyam bhavitum* = it will usually be, it is usual that. *Nyāyya* with the infinitive

is construed with the instrumental of the subject. Therefore I think that “*na pakṣavatā nyāyyaṃ niḥsnehena*” means: “It is not usual that somebody without love should be partial.”

Cf the following constructions :

1. *tatrā śakyaṃ varṇenā* ‘*pv anarthakena bhavitum* : “there not a single letter can be meaningless.”

2. *atra kenā pi kāraṇena bhavitavyam* : “there must be some cause.”

3. *āryayā pravahanaṃ ārūḍhayā bhavitavyam* : “the lady must (in all likelihood) be seated in the carriage.”

4. *sā nyāyyā mayā mocayitum* ; “it is right that I should release her.”

5. *sarveṣāṃ api tu nyāyyaṃ dātum-śaktyā manīṣinā* : “but it is just (or customary) that (a man) who knows (the law) should give even to all according to his ability.”

C. *śaktaḥ* has the same meaning as *śakyaḥ*, and is construed in the same way.

D. The construction in the text of the Sukth. edition seems to be more difficult because we have only one sentence instead of two. Therefore the negative is not repeated. Instead of *śakto nā imā* we have *śaktenā* “*tma. Śaktena* like *pakṣavatā* depends on *nyāyyam* (*bhavitum*) and *ātmā* is the subject of the infinitive passive *upadraṣṭum*.

SAPTA PADĀNI KRAMATI

By PROF. MIRCEA ELIADE

"As soon as he was born, the Bodhisattva put his feet flat on the ground, and facing the North, made seven strides while a white parasol was held aloft behind him. He considered all the regions around him, and, with the voice of bull, he uttered these words: 'I am the highest in the world; I am the best in the world; I am the oldest in the world. This is my last birth; henceforth there will be no further existence for me' " (*aggo' haṃ asmi lokassa, seṭṭho 'haṃ asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho' haṃ asmi lokassa, ayaṃ antīmā jāti, na'tthi dāni puna-bbhavo ti*; 'MAJJHIMA-NIKĀYA,' Vol. III, p. 123). This mythical feature of the Buddha's Nativity is repeated with some variations in the subsequent literature of the Nikāya-Āgamas, the Vinayas, and the Lives of Buddha. In a lengthy note to his translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramita-śāstra*¹ the Belgian scholar Étienne Lamotte has collected and sorted the most important texts. The Buddha makes seven steps in a single direction, northwards²; or else in four directions³, or in six⁴, or in ten⁵. He strides forth with his feet flat on the ground,⁶ or resting on a lotus⁷,

1. Étienne Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de la Sagesse*, Vol. I (Loavain, 1944), pp. 6-8.

2. Taishō 26, K. 8, p. 470 b; T. 1, k. 1, p. 4 b-c; *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart), II, p. 20; T. 184, K. 1, p. 463 c; T. 186, K. 2, p. 494 a.

3. Taishō 1450, K. 2, p. 108 a.

4. T 18 f, K. 3, p. 553 a; cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 84.

5. *Nidānakathā* (ed. Fausböll) p. 53.

6. *Majjhima*, III, p. 123; T. 26, k. 8, p. 470 b; T. 1, K. 1, p. 4 b-c; *Mahāvastu*, II, 20; T. 184, K. 1; p. 463 c; T. 1450, K. 2, p. 108 a; T. 186, K. 2, p. 494 a; *Buddhacarita*, I, v. 14-15; *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell-Neil) p. 389; *Nidānakathā*, p. 53.

7. T. 187, k. 3, p. 553 a; T. 189, k. 1, p. 627 a; T. 190, k. 8 p. 686 b.

or raises above the ground to a height of four inches⁸. The frequency of the first *motive*, i. e. the seven steps in a single direction, the North, induces us to suspect that the other versions—of four, six, or ten directions—must be later and probably due to the integration of this mythical theme into a more intricate symbolism, to be discussed later.

Leaving aside for the while the analysis of the various modes of Buddha's progress to the North,—with his feet flat on the ground, or resting on a lotus, or raised above the ground,—let us first consider the central symbolism of the Seven Steps. When studying this mythical theme, Paul Mus⁹ clearly pointed out its metaphysical significance. And indeed the seven steps bring the Buddha to the very summit of the cosmic world. The meaning conveyed in the phrase "I am the highest in the world" (*aggo' haṃ asmi lokassa*) is of course that of the Buddha's spatial transcendency. He has reached the "top of the world" (*lokagge*) passing through the seven cosmic levels, to which, of course, the seven planetary heavens correspond. On the other hand, the structure known as *sattabhūmakapāsāda*, or seven-storeyed *pāsāda*, symbolises the World culminating in the cosmic North. At the apex of the *sattabhūmakapāsāda* may be reached the Supreme Earth of Buddha (*Buddhabhūmi*; cf. Mus, 'Barabudur', p. 95 sq., 320 sq.); from this we may induce that the Buddha's level progress towards the North is nothing else than a *sattabhūmakapāsāda* conventionally laid flat on the ground (*Barabudur*, p. 489).

What the myth of Buddha's Nativity quite definitely expresses is the fact that, as soon as he is born, the Buddha transcends the cosmic world, and suppresses Space and Time, becoming "the highest" and "the oldest" in the world. This symbolism of transcendency is put in evidence by the various accounts of the Buddha's Seven Steps. Whether his feet fail

8. T. 188. p. 618 a.

9. *Barabudur Esquisse d'une histoire du bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes* (Hanoï, 1935). Vol. I, p. 475 p. 9.

to touch the ground, or lotus flowers blossom under his footsoles, or his feet rest flat on the ground, he is never polluted by any contact with this world. Concerning the symbolism of his feet resting flat on the ground, Burnouf¹⁰ referred long ago to a Buddhist text which Paul Mus quotes again (op.cit. p. 484); "Where the Lord of the World proceeds, low places are raised up, high places become level, etc." Under Buddha's feet the Earth becomes "smooth" i.e. bulk of any sort is reduced, the third dimension is abolished; in formulae suggesting the spatial transcendence.

The Buddhist expression of the symbolism of spatial transcendence is carried to its farthest limits in certain formulae which Paul Mus has succeeded in analyzing with much insight and admirable clearness. But this symbolism is of course not the work of Buddhist speculation; the transcendence through an elevation to heaven was already known long before Buddhist times. "The sacrifice as a whole is the ship which carries to heaven" (*sarva eva yajño nauḥ svargyā*; *Śatapatha Br.* IV, 2, 5, 10). The ritual operation is a *dūrohaṇa*, "a difficult mounting." The sacrificer climbs by means of steps (*ākramaṇa*) the sacrificial post, and having reached the summit, he stretches out his arms (as a bird would its wings) and calls out: "We have come to the heaven of the gods, we have become immortal!" (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, 1, 7, 9). "Strictly speaking, the sacrificer makes for himself a ladder and a bridge whereby he can reach the celestial world" (*ibid.* VI. 6, 4, 2)¹¹. In the above cases, of course, we have before us a belief in the efficiency of sacrifice, but not yet anything like the transcendence of the cosmic world as implied in the Buddhist Nativity. Nevertheless, it is important we should observe the similarity between the steps of the Buddha and the steps of "stairs" leading up to the sacrificial post, which the celebrant ascends to the summit.

10. *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Vol. II Appendice 8 p. 575.

11. Cf. A. Coomaraswamy, *Svayamātrṇṇā*: Yanna Coel, ("Zalmokis", II, 1939 [published 1942], pp. 3-51).

In both cases the result is the same : the apex of the world is reached, which is itself equivalent to the cosmic North or "centre" of the Universe.

The Buddha's progress through the seven Heavens, *i. e.* the seven cosmic levels, till he reaches the topmost point, should be connected with certain cosmologic and ritual conceptions which, though foreign to India, yet belong to the same system which India, Mesopotamia and Central Asia shared in common. That system we have studied in our *Problème du Chamanisme*¹² to which we refer the reader for details. The Siberian Shaman, for instance, performs the ascension and enters the nine heavens in succession by climbing the notches in the ceremonial tree. At the sixth heaven he worships the Moon, at the seventh the Sun; finally at the ninth heaven, he makes obeisance to the Supreme God, Bai Ülgen, and offers to him the spirit of the horse which has been sacrificed¹³. The notches or steps cut into the birch-tree symbolize the planetary spheres. Just as in the Mithraic initiation rites, or again just as the walls of Ecbatana were of various colours (Herodotus, I, 98) in order to symbolize the planetary heavens, the Moon is here found in the sixth heaven and the Sun in the seventh. As to the number of rungs, "nine" has taken the place of the former "seven", for among the Uralo-Altaic peoples the Pillar of the World is found to have seven notches¹⁴ while the mythical Tree with seven branches symbolizes the celestial realms.¹⁵ The Shamanic ascension of the ceremonial birch is equivalent to the ascension of the mythical tree which stands in the "centre" of the world. The hole at the top of the tent is

12. "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions" t. cxxxi, Janvier-Juin 1946, pp. 5-54; cf. *Dūrohaṇa and the "waking dream"* in Coomaraswamy Volume, London 1947.

13. Radlof, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig 1884), II, pp. 19.51; cf. Uno Harva *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki, 1938; FFC, No. 125), p. 553 sq.

14. Uno Holmberg-Harva, *Der Baum des Lebens* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, t. xiv, Helsinki, 1923), p. 25 sq.

15. *Ibidem* p. 137 and figure 46.

likened to the opening opposite the Polar Star, through which it is possible to work a passage from one mythic level to another.¹⁶ The ceremony is thus supposed to be celebrated in a "centre".

In the mysteries of Mithra, they used a ladder (*climax*) of seven rungs, each rung being wrought of a different metal (cf. Origenes, *Contra Celsum* VI, 22), and consequently corresponding to a different planetary heaven. Climbing up this ceremonial ladder, the initiate would actually go through the seven heavens and finally reach the Empyrean.

This Mithraicrite is not an isolated instance in the Iranian, Thracian and Mediterranean world. Polyaeus (*Stratagematon*, VII, 22) tells us about the priest-king of the Kebrenoi and Sykaiboai (both Thracian tribes), a certain Kosingas, who threatened his subjects with visiting the goddess Hera by climbing a wooden ladder, with a view to complaining to her about their conduct.¹⁷ The ascension to heaven by the ceremonial climbing of a ladder was probably known in the Orphic ceremonies.¹⁸ In ancient Egypt the ladder and its ritual import as well as its symbolism fit perfectly into the general scheme of the "ceremonial ascension to heaven".¹⁹ Bousset has long since compared the Mithraic ladder with similar Eastern conceptions and called attention to their common background of cosmological symbolism.²⁰ But it is important we should point out another symbol as well, namely that of the "Centre of the world." Jacob dreamed of a ladder, and "the top of it reached to heaven, and behold the angels of the Lord ascending and descending

16. *Ibid.* pp. 30 sq.

17. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *Le problème du Chamanisme*, pp. 39 sq.

18. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 2 (Cambridge, 1925) pp. 124 sq.; but cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), p. 208.

19. M. Eliade, *Le problème du Chamanisme*, p. 40; A. Coomaraswamy, *Svayamātr̥ṇṇā*, p. 15, 48, etc.

20. Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* ("Archiv für Religionswissenschaft," IV, pp. 236 sq.); cf. A. Zeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1929), pp. 180 sq.

on it" (*Genesis*; 28, 12). The stone on which Jacob had gone to sleep was a *bethel* and stood in the "centre of the world," for this is where communication was possible between all the cosmic regions. In the Islamic tradition, Mohamad saw a ladder set up on the temple at Jerusalem—i. e. on the "centre"—and reaching up to heaven with angels hovering right and left; on this ladder the souls of the righteous were ascending towards God.²¹ Dante again saw in the heaven of Saturn a golden ladder towering up to giddy heights as far as the ultimate celestial sphere, on which the souls of the Blessed were ascending (*Paradiso*, XXI-XXII).

All these rites and myths show a common structure which we may summarize as follows: the Universe is thought of as having seven superimposed levels, i. e. the seven planetary heavens; the summit is represented either by the cosmic North, or by the Polar Star, or by the Empyrean, all these being equivalent expressions of the symbol of the "Centre," (apex of the Cosmic Mountain, *axis mundi*, Cosmic Tree, etc.). The elevation to the supreme heaven (in other words, the feat of transcending the world) takes place near a "Centre" which may be a temple, a royal city, the sacrificial tree identified with the Cosmic tree, the sacrificial post identified with the Axis Mundi, the Omphalos, the *baethyl*, etc. In our *Probleme du Chamanisme* (p. 31 sq.) we have shown the very wide diffusion of this cosmological and ritual motif, also its connections with the symbolism of the Centre in the beliefs of primitive peoples (Arctic, Siberian, North and Central Californian, Algonquins, African etc.) and in ancient Oriental civilisations (Mesopotamia, Egypt, China). In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine more precisely the "origin" and development of this motif. For the while, let us only note that it is already to be found in cultures belonging to the *Urkulturen* (Arctic tribes,

21. Mignel Asin Palacios, *La escatologia musulmana en la divina Comedia* (2nd ed. Madrid-Granada, 1943), p. 70.

22. Uno Harva-Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens*, p. 30; Bogorof *The Chukchee* (New York, 1904), p. 307.

etc.) and that this same symbolism confirms the identification of the human dwelling with the Universe. Thus for instance, among the Ostyaks, the upper opening of the *yurta*, through which the smoke escapes, corresponds to the similar opening in the house of Heaven, while the Ichuktchees compare it to the "hole" made in the vault of heaven by the Polar Star.²² The Ostyaks also speak of heaven as having seven "smoke-vents" which are the seven spheres or celestial levels.²³

If we now turn again to the theme of Buddha's Nativity, there can be little doubt but we have here a further interpretation of that same archaic symbol we have just briefly reviewed. The main difference between Buddha's Seven Steps and the ritual ascensions of the Siberians, Mithraists, and Brahmanists lies primarily in their different religious intent and metaphysical implications. The myth of Buddha's Nativity conveys his Transcendancy as opposed to our polluted and suffering world, whereas in the Shamanic and Brahmanic rituals the ascension to the upper heavens is calculated to obtain some favour from the supreme god (Bai Ülgen) or a share in the existence of the gods (ensuring a divine condition after death); the Mithraic initiation rite performs a symbolic progress through the seven heavens in order to obtain purification from the influences of the seven planets and to rise as far as the Empyrean. But the structure of all these motives remains identical; *the World can be transcended by going through the Seven Heavens and reaching the Pole, or Cosmic Summit..*

In Indian cosmology, as Paul Mus observes, the initial point whence creation proceeds is the summit. "From under this point creation took place gradually by²⁴ successive stages." The Pole is not only the axis of cosmic movements, it is also the most "ancient" spot in the world. Hence the Buddha exclaims: "I stand at the Top of the world—I am the Oldest!" For, having reached the cosmic summit, *he becomes*

23. K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, Vol. II (Helsinki, 1922, *F. C.* No. 44) pp. 48 sq.

24. *Barabudur*, p. 493.

contemporary with the beginning of the world. Magically he has abolished Time and Creation, and he finds himself in the non-temporal instant which precedes the cosmogony. The texts where the seven steps are repeated in the four directions lay still more stress on the "conquest of Time" accomplished by the Buddha, since he emphasizes successively his supremacy over the four points of the compass, symbols of the spatial frame of Time.

In a brilliant paper Paul Mus has investigated the notion of reversible Time in Buddhist mythology, and the present writer has himself attempted to detect the mechanism of time-suppression through the rites of the New Year, coronation ceremonies, rites of house-building, etc.²⁵ The demonstration need not be repeated here. Let us only observe that parallels may be found to the "eldership" of the Buddha (*jyeshtha*). For it is not in Indian cosmology alone that creation began from the summit (alias "centre"). According to Semitic tradition, the creation of the world began from the navel, *i. e.*, from the Centre²⁶ and the same ideas are to be met with elsewhere also.²⁷ The "centre" is perforce the "oldest" place in the world. But, as we have seen, ritual ascensions to heaven always take place in a "centre." The Shamanic Tree, for instance, is identified with the Cosmic Tree, and is consequently supposed to stand in the centre of the world. (The plurality of World-centres gives rise to an interesting problem concerning the magical or religious conception of Space, a problem which has already been investigated by Paul Mus, A. K. Coomaraswamy, and the present writer, and which we proposed to take up again in a

25. Cf. Paul Mus, *La notion de temps réversible dans la mythologie bouddhique* (Extrait de l'Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique de Haute Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses, 1938-1939). Melun 1939; Mircea Eliade, *Archétype et répétition*, to appear in 1948.

26. Cf. A. J. Weusink, *The ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Amsterdam, 1916), pp. 15 sq.

27. W. Roscher, *Neue Omphalos studien* (Abh. König. Sächs. Gesell. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Vol. XXXI; 1, 1915), p. 16 sq, 73 sq; Mircea Eliade, *Cosmologic și alchimic babiloniana* (Bucharest, 1937), p. 32 sq.

special study). Thus from the very fact that he climbs up the Cosmic Tree and reaches the seventh heaven, the Shaman enters into the "oldest " cosmic stratum. By the Jews likewise Jerusalem or Sion is considered as the "navel of the world," the very spot where God began his creation. Therefore Sion (or, in the Islamic tradition, the Ka'aba) is the highest spot in the world, the summit of the Cosmic Mountain.²⁸ To stand in Jerusalem or Mecca means, religiously speaking, that one is standing on the oldest spot in the world.

Nowhere, of course, could we find such definite statements on the reversibility of time as in Buddhist texts. This is due primarily to the existence of a philosophical speculation which was able to emphasize, analyse and admirably formulate all those paradoxical statements concerning the reversibility of Time and the suppression of secular Space. What we should like to underline is that the principles which formed the starting-point and basis for such speculations are in no wise arbitrary or isolated. They belong to the general spiritual experience of archaic man. Where the texts are silent, or simply non-existent, we still find rites, symbols, and myths which express the same principles, though necessarily in a less transparent manner. In the great religious and metaphysical tradition of mankind, breaks of continuity are not to be found.

THE KATACCURIS IN WESTERN INDIA

BY SHRI A. S. GADRE

The Kataccuris ruled, as inscriptions tell us, in southern Gujarāt, Mālhwā and northern Deccan during the latter half of the sixth century A. D. and the first decade of the seventh. The following are their copperplate grants so far known to us :—

- (1) The Māmkaṇī¹ Copperplate(s) of Taralasvāmin (Cedi) Saṁ. 346 (Cir. 595 A. D.) ($8'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$).
- (2) Grant of Śāntilla,² general of Nirihullaka who was a vassal of Śaṅkaragaṇa ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$).
- (3) The Ābhoṇā Plates³ of Śaṅkaragaṇa (C.) Saṁ. 347 ($9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$).
- (4) The Vaḍner Plates of Buddharāja⁴ (C.) Saṁ 360 (Cir. 608 A. D.) ($10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$).
- (5) The Sarasvaṇī Plates of Buddharāja⁵ (C.) Saṁ 361 (Cir. 609 A. D.) ($10\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$).

The measurements given against each grant curiously help us in fixing their chronological order. The first two are obviously not of the ruling Kataccuri house. The first grant⁶ which is contemporary with the overlord Śaṅkaragaṇa is

1. *Śrī-Pratāpasīmha-Mahārāja-Rājyābhīṣeka-Granthmālā*, Memoir II, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State Vol. I. pp. 4ff.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 20. 3. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX. pp. 296 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII. pp. 30 ff. 5. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. pp. 294 ff.

6. I have shown in the publication mentioned in f. n. 1 that the so-called Saṅkheḍā Plate of Saṁ. 346, which is so far known as a Gurjar grant (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II pp. 19-20), is in reality the 2nd half of the Māmkaṇī plate which forms its first half. Mahamahopādhyaya Principal V. V. Mirashi, while examining my article in the *Ganganatha Yha Research*

donated by Taralasvāmin, a son of the Kaṭaccuri Chieftain Mahārāja Naṇṇa who seems to have carved out for himself a small principality round about Saṅkheḍā. That Taralasvāmin enjoyed no royal authority is evident from the absence of any royal attributes with his name. It has been shown⁷ that the suffix *svāmin* indicates that the person who uses it is a learned scholar conversant with sacrificial ritual or a *mīmāṃsaka*. It was much in vogue in this sense in the 7th cen. But its use with the name of a dignitary, possibly a scion of the royal house, of about that period is curious. The second grant is of Śāntilla, who was a general (*Balādhikṛta*) of Nirihullaka who owed allegiance to Śaṅkara[ga]ṇa. It is really the last three grants which belong to the main ruling house of the Kaṭaccuris. The genealogy as constructed therefrom is as under :

Kṛṣṇarāja
|
his son Śaṅkaragaṇa
|
his son Buddharāja

Of Kṛṣṇarāja no records are known. Bhandarkar⁸ places him about 575 A. D. on the strength of numismatic evidence. Some coins found in the Nasik district and Rājputānā are assigned to this Kṛṣṇarāja by Rapson and Bhandarkar, because they are evident imitations of the latest Gupta silver coins. From the Vaḍner and Sarsavaṇi plates we know that he was a devout worshipper of Paśupati. The reign of his successor and son, *viz.* Śaṅkaragaṇa, appears to have been glorious. His Ābhoṇā Plates are issued from the victorious military camp at Ujjayinī. A branch of this house seems to have been ruling in the region round about modern Saṅkheḍā. This is evident from the Māmkaṇī copperplate grant. From the Saṅkheḍā grant of Śāntilla, a general of Nirihullaka, it appears that the latter, who was a vassal of Śaṅkaragaṇa, ruled in the

lower Narmadā Valley in about 590 A.D. G. Jouveau Dubreuil has suggested that this Nirihullaka was perhaps a descendant of Saṅgrāmasimha who was king of Bharukāchchha about 530-31 A. D. Saṅkaragaṇa's rule extended over the modern Nasik district. It therefore seems that he ruled over Mālhwā, Lāṭa and the adjoining territories of the northern Deccan. Buddha rāja, the son of Saṅkaragaṇa appears to have met with reverses. The Cālukya ruler Maṅgaliśa¹⁰ appears to have defeated Buddhārāja about 601 A. D. His Vадner Plates of about 609 A. D. are issued from the victorious camp at Vidiśā which is obviously Besnagar near Bhilsa. His Sarsavaṇī Plates of 610 A. D. are issued from Ānandapura, modern Ānanda in the Kaira Dt. of Gujarāt. He seems to have ruled over Mālhwā, Lāṭa and Nāsik Dt. But the decline of the Kaṭaccuri power in his reign is known from epigraphical evidence. The Nerur Plates¹¹ record that he was put to flight by the Western Cālukya Maṅgaliśa. He is also referred to by the Bādāmi (Mahākūṭa) Pillar Inscription¹² (602 A. D. ?) when it states that Maṅgaliśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern region, conquered the [Kaṭaccuri] king Buddha and took his wealth. It was Pulakeśin II who vanquished Lāṭa and Mālhwā and exterminated the Kaṭaccuris from Western India.

Place names :—As the Kaṭaccuris had a short though influential rule over Southern Gujarāt, it is interesting to note here the places mentioned in their grants. Some of them have local interest for the people of the Baroda State. The Māmkaṇī Plate mentions Maṅkaṇikā which is obviously modern Māmkaṇī. The Saṅkheḍā grant of Śāntilla mentions Nirguṇḍipadraka which is identified with Nāgaravāḍā, six kos from Dabhoi. Pāṣāṇhrada is Saṇiādari, 14 kos from Dabhoi. Taṇḍulapadraka is, Tanduljā, 14 kos from Dabhoi. Śrī-Parṇākā is Paniu, 5 kos from Dabhoi. The Ābhoṇā Plates mention Ujjayinī which is well-known. It mentions the

district of Bhogavardhana and the village of Vallisikā. Both remain to be identified. Kalavana in the Nasik District from which the present ruling family of the Gaekwads hails is an ancient locality as it is mentioned in this grant of the 6th cen. A. D. as Kallāvana. The Vaḍner grant mentions Bhaṭṭiūrīkā (modern Bhātagām) in the Vaṭanagara *Bhoga* or sub-division. Vaṭanagara is of course Vaḍner in the Nasik Dt. Vidiśā is identified with modern Besnagar. But Mr. Y. R. Gupte¹³ entertains doubts on this point. The Sarasvaṇī grant was issued from Ānandapura which is the same as modern Ānanda, a Railway Junction on the B. B. & C. I. Rly. in the Kaira Dt. Dhebaka is Dabkā 8 miles west of Padrā on the Mahi. Goriḷja is Goraj in the Halol sub-division of the Panchmahāls. Kumārīvāḍa is Kuwarwar 11 miles N. E. by N. from Goraj. Brihannārikā is Banaya 4½ miles south of Kuwarwar.

The Kaṭaccuris introduced a new territorial unit called *Bhoga*. *Bhoga* and *Bhogika* (the officer in charge of *Bhoga*) in the inscriptions of southern Gujarāt of this period are due to the influence of their south-eastern neighbours. *Bhogika*,¹⁴ according to Bühler, is 'a small man not more than a Thakor of one or a few villages.'

The Kaṭaccuris were all devotees of Paśupati. Even Taralasvāmin of the Saṅkheḍā branch, is said to meditate on the feet of Śiva. Kṛṣṇarāja and his descendants are all devout worshippers of Śiva. Even one of their *dūtakas* is a Pāsupata.

Now let us consider the back-ground of the appearance of the Kaṭaccuris in Gujarāt and their disappearance from the scene after a short period. An important dynasty contemporary with the Guptas was that of the Vākātakas who originally ruled over the region now known as Berar. In the first half of the fifth century the Vākātaka kingdom, lying between the Gupta Empire and the kingdoms of the south, had become the dominant power in the Deccan. With the break-up of the Gupta Empire after the death of Skandagupta, the Vākā-

13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, p. 33.

14. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 19,

ṭaka power extended northwards and was apparently supplanted by the Kaṭaccuris in the middle of the sixth cen. A. D. The Kaṭaccuris use the same era as the Vākāṭakas and their feudatories the Cedis and the Traikūṭakas. Suffice it to say that the Gupta influence can be traced in the official documents of the Kaṭaccuris as also in their Nasik coins of the sixth or seventh cen. A. D. The imitation of the Gupta Coins and assumption of titles characteristic of the Gupta family by the Kaṭaccuris show that no wide interval separates their rule from that of the last of the Imperial Guptas of Mālwā. The Kaṭaccuris appear on the scene in Gujarāt just when Cālukya Maṅgaliśa was conquering the territories of the post-Gupta Vākāṭakas lying to the north of the Narmadā, when Śilāditya, the Maitraka, was ruling at Ujjain and when the Gurjara kings of Broach were consolidating their position. Evidently no permanent kingdom in Gujarāt for the Kaṭaccuri king Kṛṣṇarāja or his descendants was possible under these circumstances.

ON THE PRATIHĀRA MAHĪPĀLA

BY SHRI D. C. GANGULY

The Pratihāras established themselves in Kanauj in the early years of the 9th century A. D. During the reign of the king Mahendrapāla I of this family the kingdom of Kanauj comprised a vast tract of land extending from North Bengal to the Eastern Punjab and Kathiawar. Mahendrapāla had two sons Bhoja II and Mahīpāla, who succeeded him on the throne one after the other. The last known date of Mahendrapāla's reign is 908 A. D.¹ No fixed date for Bhoja II has hitherto been available. It is generally assumed that Mahīpāla was also known as Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla. As a matter of fact the king bore two names Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla. Kṣitipāla is synonymous with Mahīpāla and Herambapāla is synonymous with Vināyakapāla² The earliest known date of Mahīpāla's reign is V. S. 974-A. D. 914, as is supplied by the Haddala plate.³ The Asiatic Society plate of Vināyakapāla,⁴ dated in V. S. 988-A. D. 931, mentions that Mahendrapāla was followed in succession by Bhoja II, born of the queen Dehanāgādevī, and Vināyakapāla, whose mother was the queen Mahīdevī. It is not unlikely that Mahīpāla assumed his name as such after the name of his mother Mahīdevī just as the king Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal assumed this name after the name of his mother Madanadevī. The omission of the name of Bhoja II in the list of kings, as supplied by the Asni plate, has led some to think that after Mahendrapāla's death there was a fratricidal war between Bhoja II and Mahīpāla for the throne, and that Bhoja II with the help of the Kalacuri Kokalla I succeeded in securing the throne for himself. Subsequently

1. *EI*, I, 173.

2. *Jour. Dept. Lett.*, X-R. R. C. Majumdar—On the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*.

3. *IA*. XII, 193. 4. *Ibid*, XV, 140.

Mahīpāla with the help of the Candella Harṣa overthrew Bhoja II and wielded the sovereignty.⁵

The theory of the fratricidal war between Bhoja II and Mahīpāla is based on erroneous premises. The presence of Bhoja II's name in a particular inscription of Mahīpāla and its omission in another do not necessarily indicate that the relation between the two kings was inimical. Secondly, the Kalacūri Karṇa is never known to have rendered any help to Bhoja II against his brother. The Bilhari inscription mentions that the Kalacūri Kokalla I, after conquering the earth set up two unprecedented columns of his fame-Bhoja in the north and Kṛṣṇa in the south. The Benares copper plate states that Kokalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Harṣa, the king of Citrakūṭa, and Śaṃkaragaṇa. If these statements are studied along with the Amoda plate of Pṛthvīdeva I, which records that Kokalla I, vanquished Karnaṭa, Gurjara, Vaṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Śākambharī kings, and those born of the Raghu family (i. e. the Pratihāras) it will follow that Kokalla after defeating Bhoja and others allowed them to rule their territories. Śaṃkaragaṇa, son of Kokalla I, was on the throne of Tripurī in 888 A. D. So Kokalla cannot be taken to have been a contemporary of Bhoja II, who ruled after 908 A. D. It may be mentioned in this connection that Harṣa, referred to in the Benares plate, is to be identified with the Guhila Harṣa, who conquered the northern countries for his master the Pratihāra Bhoja I, and not the Candella king of this name. The suggestion that Bhoja II ascended the throne with the help of Kokalla may thus be altogether discarded.⁶

An attempt has been made of late to prove that Mahīpāla and Bhoja II were one and the same king. The arguments in support of this theory, may be summarised in the following way. The Asni plate,⁷ dated 917 A. D., states that Mahīpāla succeeded to the throne of Mahendrapāla. The Asiatic Society

5. Tripathi—*History of Kanauj*, 255-256.

6. For detailed discussion — Author's "*Early History of the Kalacuris Cedi*", *IHQ*, XIII, 482.

7. *IA*, XVI, 174.

plate of Vināyakapāla, dated 931 A. D., mentions that Mahendrapāla was succeeded by Bhoja II and Vināyakapāla. As the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap, one may be taken as distinct from the other. If Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla were identical it cannot be explained why the name of Bhoja II has been mentioned in one and has been omitted in another. This apparent anomaly can satisfactorily be solved if Bhoja II is taken as identical with Mahīpāla. The Arab Geographer Al Mas'ūdī visited Multan and Mansurah in 912 A. D. and Cambay in 916 A. D. He states in his *Murūj-ul-zahab* that the King of Kanauj is Bauūra. This is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. Mr. Hodivala points out that in some Mss. Bauūra has been written as Bozah, Bozoh, and Bodzah. So the name of the king of Kanauj is to be read as Bhoja. As Mahīpāla is known to have been ruling in 914 and 917 A. D. he is in all probability identical with Al Mas'ūdī's Bhoja. Thus the suggestion that Bhoja II and Mahīpāla were one and the same king is confirmed by Al Mas'ūdī. As Bhoja is stated to have been the title of the family it is obvious that it was the title of Mahīpāla. In view of this the name of the son and successor of the Pratihāra Rāmabhadra is apparently Mihira, who is to be taken to have assumed the title Bhoja.⁸

The arguments advanced to establish the identity of Bhoja II with Mahīpāla, is not convincing. There is nothing unusual if a king refers to his brother king, who preceded him, in one of his inscriptions, and fails to mention his name in another. The Paramāra Naravarman devotes a large number of verses to eulogizing the merits and achievements of his elder brother Lakṣmadeva in his Nagpur inscription, dated 1104 A. D. But in his Madhukargarh inscription, dated A. D. 1107, and Kadambapadraka plate, dated 1110 A. D., he does not mention the name of his brother though he takes particular care to mention the names of his father, grandfather and grandfather's brother.⁹ These omissions on the part of Naravarman cannot be regarded as unusual.

8. *Ibid*, 1928, p. 232; *Indian Culture*, VII, 1940-41, p. 199.

9. *EI*, XII, 182; *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, I, 226; *PRAS*, W. C., 1920-21.

There is no evidence to suggest that Bhoja was the title of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. Of the large number of kings, who ruled there, two are known to have assumed the name Bhoja. The Asiatic Society plate, referred to above, mentions that Mahendrapāla was succeeded by Bhoja II and Vināyakapāla. If Bhoja were the titles of the Pratihāra kings it is inexplicable why the immediate successor of Mahendrapāla has been mentioned only by the family title and Mahendrapāla himself and his second son have not been associated with it.

Elliot, Maulana Suleman Nadvi, and many others have accepted the reading Bauūra, referred to in Mas'ūdī's work, as correct. At the time of Mas'ūdī's visit to India the Pratihāras were ruling in Kanauj. When Mas'ūdī says that Bauūra is the title of the kings of Kanauj he evidently means the Pratihāras. In Arabic there is no such letter as *p*. The letter *p* is expressed either by the letter *b* or by *ph*. The king Shapur is written in Arabic as Shabur. Bauūra is thus identical with Pauūra which in all probability is an Arabic corruption of Pratihāra.

Mahīpāla suffered a defeat at the hand of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Indra III and his ally Narasiṃha. Mas'ūdī, who visited India during the reign of Mahīpāla, refers to the Pratihāra king's constant fight with the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the Moslems of Multan. Rājaśekhara who lived in the court of Mahīpāla, states that the king conquered the Muralas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Keralas, Kulūtas, Kuntalas, and the Rāmaṭhas.¹⁰ Mahīpāla seems to have conquered Mālava with the help of his feudatory the Kalacūri Bhāmānadeva of Sarayupāra after defeating the Paramāras.¹¹

Rājaśekhara mentions Mahīpāla as the *Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta. He in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* defines Āryāvarta as the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and the

10. *Jour. Dept. Lett.*, X.

11. Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 34.

Eastern ocean and the Western ocean. The Haddala grant, dated 917 A. D., proves that the Cāpa Dharaṇīvarāha, the ruler of Aḍḍanaka-deśa, the country round Wadhwan in Kathiawar, was a feudatory of Mahīpāla. To the west of the country of the Cāpas lay the kingdom of the Saindhavas, who ruled from their capital Bhutāmbilika, modern Bhumili, in the Nawanagar State, Kathiawar. The Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II brought the Saindhavas under his sway. The 'last known chief of the Saindhava dynasty is Jaika II, who was ruling in A. D. 904 and 915. As he designates himself as a *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* he was in all probability a feudatory of Mahīpāla and his predecessors.¹²

The Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja I of Śākambharī flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D. He and his son and successor Simharāja, who is to be placed in the second quarter of this century, seem to have been contemporaries of Mahīpāla. As their overlord is stated to have belonged to the 'family of Raghu' i. e. the Pratihāra family, the kingdom of Śākambharī must have formed a part of the Empire of Mahīpāla.¹³ The Chatsu (Jaipur State) branch of the Guhila dynasty is known to have been a feudatory of the Pratihāras of Kanauj.¹⁴ The king Bhaṭṭa of this family helped apparently Mahīpāla against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies. It has already been noticed that Mālava was conquered by Mahīpāla. His son Mahendrapāla II was in possession of that country. During the reigns of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla the Pratihāra Empire extended upto the Karnal District in the Eastern Punjab. It appears from the statement of Al Mas'ūdī that during his visit to India the Pratihāra kingdom bordered that of the Moslems of Multan.¹⁵ The Kalacūris of Sarayupāra were vassals of the Pratihāras. Bhāmānadeva of this family seems to have been a contemporary of Mahīpāla.¹⁶

The Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I wrested Magadha and Varendrī (North Bengal) from Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla

12. *EI*, XXVI, 185 13. *IA*, XLII, 60.

14. *EI*, XII, 10. 15. *Ellito*, I 22. 16. *EI*, VII, 85.

dynasty of Bengal.¹⁷ It is not unlikely that the Pratihāra supremacy extended up to East Bengal about this time. An image inscription from Baghaura, in the Teperah District, Bengal, registers that the image was installed in the 3rd year of the reign of Mahīpāladeva by a resident of Bilakindaka, modern Bilakendual, near Baghaura. Another image inscription from Narayanapura, situated in the same District, reports that the image was installed in the 4th year of the reign of Mahīpāla by a resident of Vilakandbaka.¹⁸ The king Mahīpāla of these two inscriptions is identified by the scholars with the Pāla king of this name, who ruled from c. A. D. 988 to c. A. D. 1038. There are, however, difficulties in accepting this identification as correct. The Pālas are not known to have ever ruled East Bengal. The Kambojas occupied North and West Bengal during the reigns of the Pāla Mahīpāla's father and grandfather. The Pāla Mahīpāla succeeded in reconquering North Bengal before the ninth year of his reign. West Bengal, as it appears from the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola, remained independent of the control of Mahīpāla. If the Baghaura inscription is assigned to the Pāla Mahīpāla it will have to be assumed that this king led an expedition against East Bengal and conquered it before the 3rd year of his reign. As the king was busy in fighting with the Kambojas for the reconquest of Varendrī in the early part of his reign it seems unlikely that he led an army against the distant Samataṭa (Teperah District) about this time. Moreover when Mahīpāla was on the throne of Varendrī the Candra dynasty was ruling Vaṅga, which lies between Varendrī and Samataṭa. The names of four kings of this dynasty viz., Pūrṇacandra, Suvarṇacandra, Trailokyacandra, and Śricandra are known from the Rampal Plate. The Tirumalai inscription discloses that when Rājendra Cola invaded the eastern countries in c. A. D. 1020-21 Govindacandra was the ruler of Vaṅgāla. Two image inscriptions prove that Govindacandra ruled Vaṅga at least for twenty-

17. Ray's *DHNI*, I, 302, 303.

18. *History of Bengal*—Dacca University.

three years.¹⁹ There cannot be any doubt that this Govindacandra was a successor of Śricandra, who is known to have ruled at least for fortyfour years. As Govindacandra was on the throne on or before 1020 A. D. the date of Śricandra's accession must be fixed before A. D. 976. Śricandra's father Trailokyacandra held sway over Candradvīpa (Bakerganj District) and Harikelā. The early lexicographers describe Harikelā as a synonym for Vaṅga. The lexicographers of the late period state that Harikelā is identical with Śrihaṭṭa. According to I-Tsing Harikelā was situated to the east of Samatāṭa. Whatever might have been the actual boundary of Harikelā there cannot be any doubt that Trailokyacandra held sway over a considerable portion of Vaṅga. His kingdom might have extended from Bakerganj upto Sylhet or Chittagong. It follows from the above discussions that Trailokyacandra, Śricandra, and Govindacandra ruled Vaṅga from the 3rd quarter of the 10th century to the middle of the 11th century. So long as the Candras ruled Vaṅga independently it was not possible for the Pāla Mahīpāla to assert his supremacy over Samatāṭa from Varendrī. Dr. N. K. Bhatasali has recently pointed out that the Baghaura image is to be placed nearly a century earlier than the two images of the reign of Govindacandra (c. A. D. 1020) on stylistic ground. All these considerations have led me to suggest that the Baghaura and Narayanpur image inscriptions are to be assigned to the Pratihāra Mahīpāla and not to the Pāla king of this name.²⁰ This will establish that the kingdom of the Pratihāra Mahīpāla included East Bengal also. The above categories thus prove that the Empire of Mahīpāla extended from East Bengal upto Kathiawar and Eastern Punjab, and from the foot of the Himalaya upto the Narmada. It will follow from this that Rājaśekhara's statement that Mahīpāla was the lord of Āryāvarta is not an empty boast.

Mahīpāla could not maintain his authority over this vast Empire for a long time. It also became difficult for him to

19. *Ibid.*

20. For detailed discussion—Author's "*Side Light On the History of Bengal*," *IHQ*, XVI, 179.

keep in check the feudatories of the outlying provinces. Bengal and Magadha seceded from the Pratihāra Empire before the 24th year of the reign of the Pāla Rājyapāla. The Cālukyas of the Junagadh State were feudatories of the Pratihāras. The Cālukya Avanīvarman II Yogarāja of this family invaded the territory of the Cāpa Dharaṇīvarāha of Vardhamāna and defeated him.²¹ In 941-42 A. D. Sārasvata-Maṇḍala, the capital of which was Aṇahilapāṭaka was conquered by Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukya dynasty in Gujarat. Mūlarāja overthrew the Cāpa Dharaṇīvarāha and occupied Vardhamāna. After the establishment of the Caulukya sovereignty in Aṇahilapāṭaka the Pratihāra Mahīpāla lost control over Gujarat and Kathiawar. Sometime before 940 A. D. the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III threatened to conquer Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and Kālāñjara.²² The Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja I of Śākambharī, who was apparently a feudatory of Mahīpāla is said to have dispersed Tantrapāla 'who' was coming haughtily towards the Ananta country to deliver a message of his overlord.' This 'overlord' was in all likelihood Mahīpāla. Vākpati's son Siṃharāja defeated the Tomara leader Salavana and took his allies prisoners. His overlord who belonged to the Raghu family (i. e. the Pratihāra family) came in person to Śākambhari to release the captives. Siṃharāja is given the tittle *Mahārājādhirāja* in the Harsha Stone Inscription.²³ Thus like Bengal, Magadha, and Gujarat the kingdom of Śākambharī also seceded from the Empire of Mahīpāla. Mahīpāla closed his reign sometimes between A. D. 942 and A. D. 946.

21. *EJ*, IX, 1 f. 22. *EI*, IV, 284.

23. *IA*, XLII, 60; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 82.

THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF
FIRE-ARMS IN INDIA
— BETWEEN A. D. 1450 AND 1850

BY PROF. P. K. GODE

In my paper on the "*Use of Guns and Gun-powder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards*" contributed to the *Sir E. Denison Ross Volume* (pages 117-124), I have recorded a few references on this subject, which clarify to some extent the history and chronology of the use of guns and gun-powder in India. I propose in this paper to record some more data bearing on the subject, which, it is hoped, will be useful to scholars who intend to write on the history of fire-arms in India and allied topics.

(1) *RAM CHANDRA KAK* in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933) records the political history of Kashmir. In his account of the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin (A. D. 1421-1472) he gives us the following information about *fire-works and fire-arms* :

- (a) *Page 36* — " The King (Zain-ul-Abidin) himself composed two works in Persian, the first being a *treatise* in the form of questions and answers on the *manufacture of Fire-works* and the second entitled *Shikayat* (the *Plaint*) a poem, etc. "
- (b) *Page 38* — " He gave a strong impetus to the *Manufacture* of paper, shawls, and embroidered tapestry, for which Kashmir has always been famous. He promoted the silk industry by inviting weavers from Khurasan and settling them in the country. *It was in his reign, in the year A. D. 1466 that fire-arms were first introduced in Kashmir.* "

The above references to *fire-works* and *fire-arms* are in harmony with the references to guns and gun-powder in India

from A. D. 1400 onwards recorded by me in my paper referred to above.

(2) In the *Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1938) Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan has recorded some information about the professions of the Italians in India in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this information I find the following references to *Italian Artillery-makers* :—

Page 22 — “ A Milanese gunner who died in Lahore in 1597 ” left “ all his books to the (Jesuit) fathers (of the mission to the Mogul Country) including some *technical works on the founding of Cannon and on Siege operations.* ” (See page 192 of MacLagan’s *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932).

Page 26 — Among three or four Christians employed at Agra in A. D. 1632 there was one Venetian *Angelo Gradenigo*, employed by Jehangir in his court as cook and probably as *maker of artillery* (*Mundy*, ii, 208, n. 3).

Page 27 — *Niccolao Manucci*, a Venetian, who reached India in 1656 A. D., entered services as an artillery-man under Dara Shukoh. He became Captain of *Artillery* to (Mirza) Raja Jaising of Amber, marched to the Dekhan and saw Shivaji in 1665. He died about 1720 (See Intro. P. 67 to *Storia de Mogor*, Translation by W. Erwine, London, 1907 – 1908).

Sometime before A. D. 1672, among the thousand brass and iron pieces of great *Cannon* mounted on the walls and gates of Bijapur, there was one carrying not less than 540 pound weight of gun-powder cast by a *native of Rome*, who when questioned by one of the king’s Commissioners about the money he had disbursed upon this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before.

(vide p. 602 of Baldaeus P. — *A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East India Coasts of Malbar and Coromandel* — Trans. Vo. III — London, 1703).

Page 29 — Petro Paulo, who worked as a Carmelite friar in India, wrote to Manucci in A. D. 1680 that “ he knew about a *Match lock that could be fired five to seven times after only once loading it, and whenever he chose to do so.*” (See Manucci, IV, 112-3).

Pape 31 — *About A. D. 1625* “ Handsome musket barrels wrought with gold and set with agates of various colours in which heads are carved were also brought here overland by the Venetians.” (Vide P. 26 of Pelsaert’s *Travels* — Trans. by W. A. Moreland).

(3) Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri records the following verses of a Sanskrit poetess Gauri, which describe a weapon called **भुशण्डी** (Vide P. 9 of *Sanskrit Poetesses*, Vol. II, Part A, Calcutta, 1939) :—

(1) महाचण्डीव संभाति भुशण्डी भवतः करे ।
प्रतापज्वरसंभ्रान्तगोलिका जीवहारिणी ॥ ४ ॥

“(O, King !) the Bhuṣaṇḍī — the destroyer of beings and filled with *cannon balls*, that are shining with brilliant prowess, — is shining in your hand like the great goddess of destruction.”

(2) बान्हिचूर्णपरिपूर्णनिजान्त—
गोलिका गरलवक्त्रविकाशा ॥
बाहुभीषणभुजङ्गभूतेयं
भाति दुष्टभुजर्गाव भुशण्डी ॥ ५ ॥

“With its yawning mouth, poisonous by reason of the *cannon balls* that are filled with fiery powder this Bhuṣaṇḍī shines (in the hand of the King) just like a malignant

snake (shining in the hand of one (i. e. Śiva) who wears dreadful snakes on his arms. ”

It appears from the two verses of Gauri quoted above that the weapon “ Bhuṣaṇḍi ” in the hand of the King is either a musket or a small portable piece of Cannon. As Gauri is quoted by Veṇīdatta (A. D. 1644) we may conclude that she is earlier than about A. D. 1625. According to Dr. Chaudhuri the lower limit of her date is 17th Century A. D. (See P. IX of the Intro.). As Gauri mentions fire-arms we may safely infer that she is later than about 1400 A. D. We may tentatively fix her date between A. D. 1400 and 1600.

(4) Saint Tukārāma of Mahārāṣṭra possibly refers to bullets or Cannon-balls (गोळ्या) in the following extract ;—

“ देव राखे तथा मारील कोण

तुका म्हणे नारायण । येतां गोळ्या वारी बाण ॥ ४ ॥

(Abhanga No. 292 in तुकाराम-गाथा, Bombay.)

Tukārāma flourished between A. D. 1608 and 1649.

(5) Raghunātha Paṇḍita in his *Rājavyavahāra Kośa* composed by the order of Shivaji the Great about A. D. 1676 refers to the terminology about fire-arms in the Śastravarga (verses 129 — 131) as follows :

“ यन्त्रव्यूहस्तराबा स्याद् बाणोऽग्निनलिका भवेत् ॥ १२९ ॥

नालिकं बरखंदाजं नलीयन्त्रं तु बन्दुखम् ।

तोफ नाम भवेदुल्का दारू नामाग्निचूर्णकम् ॥ १३० ॥

लघुयन्त्रं जबर्जंगं जम्बूरा तु शतघ्निका ।

दीप्तिनीडं भवेत् काना गोलंदाज् यन्त्रवेधकः ॥ १३१ ॥ ”

(Vide P. 155 of शिवचरित्रप्रदीप, Poona, 1925)

In the above extract the terms अराबा, बाण, बरखंदाज, बन्दुख, तोफ, दारू, जबर्जंग, जम्बूरा, काना, and गोलंदाज are either Persian or Arabic. Their Sanskrit equivalents have been given by Raghunātha Paṇḍita.

(6) Bernier in his *Travels* (A. D. 1656) has recorded

many observations about the artillery of Aurangzeb and that of the Mogol army (See Constable's edition of *Travels*, London, 1891). I note below some points from these remarks :—

Page 217 :— Musketeers squat on the ground and rest their muskets on a *wooden fork* which hangs to them — afraid of an evil spirit causing the bursting of their musket, which may burn their eyes and long beards — Monthly pay of musketeers is Rs. 20, 15 and 10 — Artillery men receive great pay. Particularly all the *Frangis* or Christians *Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, and French*; fugitives from Goa, and from the Dutch and English Companies. Formerly when the Mogols were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the Europeans was more liberal and there are still some remaining who receive Rs. 200 / — a month : but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service and limits their pay to Rs. 32/ — .

Two Kinds of Artillery :— (1) Heavy and light or Artillery of the Stirrup.

Heavy artillery :— 70 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, 200/300 camels, each carrying a field piece of the *size of a double musket* attached on the back of the camel.

Page 218 :— *Artillery of the Stirrup* :—

50 or 60 field pieces of brass, each mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted *carriage*, with 2 *ammunition chests*, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of *red streamers*. The carriage, with the driver was drawn by 2 fine horses and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay.

The *heavy Artillery* could not move along difficult passes or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. The *light Artillery*

is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of the *Artillery of the Stirrup*.—When the king arrives at any place of encampment, the guns ranged already in front of the King's quarters fire a volley by way of signal to the army.

Page 219 :— *Infantry* :— About 15,000 in the army immediately about the King, including *Musketeers*, foot *Artillery*, etc.

Page 352 :— *The heavy Artillery* consists of 70 pieces mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that 20 yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along and some, when the road is steep or rugged require the aid of elephants in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage-wheels with their heads and trunks.

Page 277 :— Description of an elephant fight :—

Use of *Charkys* (or fire-works) to separate fighting elephants—the elephants have a particular dread of fire ; they have been used with very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms—The boldest elephants come from Ceylon but those only, that are accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets close to their heads and the bursting of Crackers between their legs, are employed in war.

(*Charkhi* or a wheel on the end of a stick is a common fire-work in Northern India).¹

1. Bernier refers to "*Bannes* " (*Bāṇa* or rocket) on P. 48 of the *Travels*, used for frightening the horses in the battle. He explains "*bannes* " as a "*sort of granade attached to a stick.*" I shall study in a separate paper the usage of the term *Bāṇa* (बाण) as applied to a *fire-work* or *fire-arm*, say between A. D. 1450 and 1850. It is for linguists to say whether the sense of "*fire-work* " or "*fire-arm* " has been grafted on the Sanskrit word ' बाण ' which means an arrow.

(7) Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (C. A. D. 1590) makes the following remarks about *Artillery* of Emperor Akbar (Vide pp. 91 - 95 of Gladwin's Trans. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1897) :—

“ *The Artillery* — These are the locks and keys of empire ; and excepting Room, no Kingdom can compare with this in the number and variety of its ordnance.

Some pieces of *cannon* are so large as to carry a *ball of twelve Maunds* ; and others require each *several elephants* and a *thousand bullocks* for their transportation.

His Majesty gives a *great deal of attention to this department*, and has appointed to it *Daroghahs* and Clerks.

He has *invented several kinds*, some of which are so contrived as to take to pieces for the convenience of carriage, and when the army halts they are nicely put together again. Also *seventeen pieces* are so united as to be *discharged by one match*. There are others which can be easily transported by one elephant and they are called “ *Gujnal*.” Others can be carried by a single man and are called *Nurnal*.

It has been wisely ordered that a sufficient train of *artillery be placed in each Subah*.

The *cannon for battery, and boats* and those, which are fit for *journies* are kept separate. It would be impossible to innumerate them ; and skilful *artists* are continually making new ones especially *Gujnals* and *Nurnals*.

In this department *Omrahs* and *Ahdyan* receive *large salaries*.

Rules observed in making fire-arms for his Majesty's use :—

Bundooks (i. e. match-locks) are now made in such a manner that when filled with powder up to the muzzle there is *no fear of their bursting*. Formerly, they never were of more than *four folds* of iron : and sometimes only of one, joined together by the two extremities of the breadth, and which were *very dangerous*. His Majesty after having the

iron flattened, has it rolled up like a scroll of paper but slantingly and every fold is passed through the fire. There is also the following method :—*Solid pieces of iron* are properly tempered and then bored with iron borer and *three or four of these are joined together to form a Bundook. The smallest Bundooks* that are made are *two spans long* and the *longest near two ells*. That of one ell and a quarter is called *Demanik* and its stock is made differently from the others. Some are made to fire without a match, merely by giving a little *motion to the trigger*. And they make some balls that will do execution like a sword.

There are a great number of skilful artists in this department, the chief of whom are *Ostad Kebeer* and *Hussain*. In preparing the iron for Bundooks half is lost in the fire. When the lengths are made and before they are joined together they are *stamped with figures*, expressing the quantity of crude iron and the quantity remaining ; and in this state it is called *Dowl*. This is sent for His Majesty's inspection and the weight of the ball being determined, the bore is made accordingly. The *Bundook* ball is never larger than twenty five Tanks nor less than fifteen ; but excepting His Majesty nobody is bold enough to fire off one of the largest. When the bore is finished it is again carried to the Harem. From thence it is brought out again, and set in an old stock and filled with powder till within a third of the muzzle. If it stands this proof it is carried again to his Majesty. Then the muzzle is finished, after which it is again put into an old stock as before mentioned, and tried at a mark. If it does not carry true, they heat it and straighten it by means of a wooden rod. Then in the royal presence it is delivered to the *filer*, who fashions the outside as he is directed. When this is done, the barrel is again carried to His Majesty, when the wood and form of the stock are determined. In this stage the figures, marking the weight of the crude and of the prepared iron, are effaced, and in their room are engraven the maker's name, the place, the month and the year. Next are made the *trigger*, the *ramrod* and *primer*. After all these are finished, the piece is again ordered to be proved. If it is found to carry true,

it is again brought to the Harem along with five balls. In this state it is called *Sadeh* (or plain). The colour of the barrel and stock is next determined and when the colouring is finished, it is called *Rungeen* (or coloured). It is now sent again into the Harem with five more balls. His Majesty fires it four times and returns it back again with the fifth ball. When ten of these *Rungeen muskets* are collected together they are ordered to be inlaid with gold and are afterwards sent to the Harem as before described. And when ten such are completely finished, they are committed to the care of *Cheeyleh*.

A description of the Barghu :— Formerly it required a great many men, with a number of iron tools to *polish the Bundoos*; but His Majesty has invented a *wheel*, which is turned by a single bullock and *polishes sixteen muskets* in a very short time.

Of the ranks of the Royal Bundoos :—

Bundoos are either made in the *royal workshops* or are brought or are received in present. *His Majesty* out of a thousand of those of different kinds selects *one hundred and five* for his own particular use, which are used in the following manner :— viz. *twelve* are named after the months and are brought to him alternately, so that each comes in use once a year; *thirty* others are changed every week; and *thirty-two* are used alternately every day of a solar month; and the remaining *thirty-two* are for the *Kowtel*. *His Majesty fires every day*, and after he has discharged a piece four times, it is sent out and exchanged for another.

It is also a rule that the clerks of the Chase take *an account of all the game that is shot by His Majesty and with what particular piece*, from whence it appears that with the *musket* called *Sungram*, which is the *first in rank of the Khaseh muskets* and appropriated for the month of *Ferverdin* (i.e. March), there have been killed *one thousand one hundred game* of various kinds.

The pay of the Bundookchyan :—

His Majesty has fixed the *pay* of the Merdahs after *four rates* viz., first 300 Dams; Second 280 Dams; third 270 Dams; fourth 260 Dams and the pay of others at *five rates*, each of which are divided into *highest, middle* and *lowest*.

<i>First Rate :—</i>			
Highest	.....	Dams	250
Middle	.....	Dams	240
Lowest	.....	Dams	230
<i>Second Rate :—</i>			
Highest	.....	„	220
Middle	.....	„	210
Lowest	.....	„	200
<i>Third Rate :—</i>			
Highest	.....	Dams	190
Middle	.....	„	180
Lowest	.....	„	170
<i>Fourth Rate :—</i>			
Highest	.....	„	160
Middle	.....	„	150
Lowest	.....	„	140
<i>Fifth Rate :—</i>			
Highest	.....	„	130
Middle	.....	„	120
Lowest	.....	„	110 "

These are the remarks of Abul Fazl on Akbar's *Artillery*. They are very important for the history of the *Manufacture of Fire-Arms in India*. We notice in these remarks the personal attention of Akbar to every detail of this manufacture because *Artillery* was regarded by him as "*the locks and keys of the Empire*" as Abul Fazl puts it. Other details of the *Artillery* department recorded in these remarks speak for themselves. They may be useful to us for comparison with similar details pertaining to the use of *Artillery* by the Marathas and the English in 17th and 18th Centuries. Unless we bring together all data pertaining to the use of fire-arms in India, we can have no true vision of their history in India.

(8) Rāmachandrapant Amātya (A. D. 1650 — 1733), who had a close knowledge of the Maratha administration

under the Maratha Kings, Sri Shivaji Mahārāja and his sons Sambhāji and Rājārām, composed his celebrated *Ājñā-patra* dealing with Maratha Polity. It is dated 21st November 1716. In this elaborate document we find some references about *fire-arms* as used by the Marathas. I note some of these references from its Edition by Prof. V. G. Urdhvaresh, Indore, 1939 :—

Page 7 :—In the description of Shivāji's हुजरात or standing army reference is made to the following items :—

- (1) Employment by Shivāji of trustworthy musketeers (बन्दुकी,) bowmen (तिरंदाज) etc. and their equipment.
- (2) Equipment of all forts with दारुगोळी, बाण, होके, भांडी, etc.
- (3) For Cavalry, ताजी, आरबी, इलाखी and कछी horses were maintained.¹
- (4) The तोफखाना or artillery consisted of the following items :—
 - (i) बन्दुकी = Musketeers
 - (ii) रामचांग्या = a kind of gun
 - (iii) दुराग्या = long-range guns
 - (iv) फिलनाक (or फिलनाळा) a gun mounted on an elephant.
 - (v) सुतरनाला = A gun mounted on a Camel
 - (vi) गाड्यावरील-भांडी = Guns on wheeled carriages
 - (vii) करोळ = Mounted musketeers

1. Cf. राजव्यवहारकोश (शस्त्रवर्ग) — Verses 164-168 mention the following horses :—

निळा = कर्क, बोर = शोण, कुमैत = श्यामल, अंबरी = मेघवर्णक, अबलख = कर्बुर, जरदा = पिङ्गल, अम्रवा = व्याघ्रवर्ण, करडा = पाटल, रहवाल = सैन्धव, इराखी = यावन, अरब्बी = पारसीक, कच्छी = जवन, मुजिन्नस = विजातीय, अहरी = बाल्हीक, ताजी = मद्रज, ठांकण = पर्वतीय, तेजी = तेजस्वी, तुरकी = बलान.

(viii) हाक (हुका or हुका) = Vessels filled with gunpowder or bombs, or बाण or सुरंग.

Page 17 :— हुजरात should consist of लश्कर, आडाव, हशम, बंदुकी (musketeers), तिरंदाजी and कराल (mounted musketeers).

Page 18 :— Weapons to be kept ready are :—

तरवारा, कटारा, जमदाडा, पट्टे, भाले, बाक, बिचवे, सेत्या, टाकण्या, तिरकमाना, बंदुकी (muskets). Other equipment consisted of —

बखतरे, धुंग्या, टोप, दुपट्टे, चिलखतें, पारवरा, ताज, हुक,¹ दारूगोळी (muskets), बाण, etc.

Pages 40-43 :— Chapter on Forts and their equipment consisting of भांडी, जुंबरे (जंबुरे) small Bandoos.

Instructions regarding the care and upkeep of ordnance :—

- (i) दारूखाना should be kept away from residential quarters.
- (ii) The cellar of the दारूखाना should contain दारूचे बस्ते (big bags of gunpowder) as also मडके (earthen pots) full of it.
- (iii) बाण, होके, etc. should be kept in the Central room of the Cellar, free from moisture.
- (iv) Every fort-night the Havaladar should take out दारू, बाण होके and heat them in the sun and again keep them in the Cellar duly sealed (मुद्रा करून).
- (v) The दारूखाना should be guarded day and night by special guards, who should not allow any one to approach without permission.
- (vi) As forts can be protected only by भांडा and बन्दुका, gunners should be maintained.

1. Briggs in the *Ferishta* (Vol. IV, P. 65, Cal. 1910) explains "Hooks" as Shell.

- (vii) Officers on the fort such as तटसरनोबत, बारगारि, सदरसरनोबत and हवालदार should practise the use of muskets (बंदुकी) and भांडी (cannons).
- (viii) भांडी, जंबुरे, चरक्या, etc. should be kept at strategic points on the fort at different towers (बुरुज).
- (ix) The gun-carts (भांडियाचे गाढे), चरक (grind-stone for sharpening weapons) and भांडी (cannons) should be installed on strong iron bases (मजबूत लोखंडी कट).
- (x) दारूच्या खालित्या (bags of gun-powder), गज (iron rods), भांडे निवावयाच्या कुंच्या (covers for cooling the cannons), गोळे (cannon-balls), कोंट (burnt metal) etc., small stones from the river of the size of a betel nut, बाणाच्या पलाखा (फाळ), जामग्या (wicks for firing off the cannons), तरफा (iron sheet attached to बाण), सामते (instruments for boring holes) for repairing the holes of cannons (काने) etc. — all this equipment should be always ready for use near the cannons (भांडी).
- (xi) Articles of iron and stone (अहिनी, दगडी जिन्नस) may be kept near the gun-powder.
- (xii) होके, बाण should also be kept ready at all places, where guards are posted.
- (xiii) During the rainy season all the pieces of cannon with their openings and crevices should be coated with oil and wax. Their angular crevices (कोने) should be filled with wax. All the pieces of cannon should be provided with covers (आघाडी) to protect them against damage. Other equipment also should be kept well protected against moisture.

- (xiv) Brave and trustworthy artillery men (गोलंदाज) with families (कबिलेदार), should be employed in adequate number commensurate with the needs and artillery equipment of each fort. These men should be expert marksmen (नेमला जागा दुरस्त मारणार असे).

Page 44 — *Chapter on Navy* (आरमार)

The navy should be provided with brave men, equipped with मांडी, जंबुरे, बंदुका, दाखगोळी, हुके etc.

Page 46 — The enemy should be kept under naval fire (भांडियाचा मार) on all sides (चौगर्द घेरून).

Page 47 — The enemy should be kept terror-struck by destroying his ships with naval cannonading.

The foregoing notes amply show the use of fire-arms by the Marathas in the 17th century. They also reveal the importance attached to *artillery* by Shivaji the Great and his ministers in war-fare on land and sea. I do not, however, notice in them any reference to the *manufacture* of cannons and muskets as I find in the Section on Artillery in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. I wonder if any of the early Maratha rulers devoted any personal attention to the *manufacture of fire-arms* as Emperor Akbar did.

(9) In the *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (London, 1903) we get some information about *fire-arms* as follows :—

Page 37 : — Article on *ARSENAL* — the following extract refers to the manufacture of *cannon* and *gun-powder* at *Fez*.

A. D. 1573 : — “ In this city (Fez) there is a very great building which they call *Darcana*, where the Christian captives used to labour at blacksmith's work and other crafts under the superintendence and orders of renegade headmen.....here they made

cannon and powder and wrought swords, cross-bows and arquebusses, — Marmol Desc. General de Africa, lib, iii, f. 92.

Page 354 :— Article on FIRINGHEE:—

A. D. 1673 — “The Artillery in which the Fringis are listed, formerly for good pay, now very ordinary, having not above 30 or 40 rupees a month.” —Fryer, 195.

Pages 127-128 :— “BUNDOOK”. s. H. Bandūk from Ar. Bندوق. The common H. term for a musket or match-lock. The history of the word is very curious. Bندوق, Pl. banādīk was a name applied by the Arabs to filberts (as some allege) because they came from Venice. (Banādīk, comp. German Venedig). The name was transferred to the nut-like pellets shot from cross-bows, and thence the cross-bows or arblasts were called ‘bundūk’ elliptically for Kaus al-b. ‘pellet-bow.’ From Cross-bows the name was transferred again to fire-arms as in the parallel case of arquebus (Al-Bandukāni, ‘the man of the pellet-bow’ was one of the names by which the Caliph Hārūn-al-Rashid was known, and Al Zahir Baybars al-Bandukdārī, the fourth Baharite Soldan (A. D. 1260-77) was so entitled, because he had been slave to a Bandukdār, or Master of Artillery (Burton Ar. Nights, xii, 38)).

(1845 — “Banduquis, or orderlies of the Maharaja carrying long guns in a loose red-cloth cover” — Drew, Jumoos and Kashmir.

Page 935 :— TOPE-KHANA. S. The Artillery, the Artillery park, or Ordnance Department, Turco-Pers. Top-khānā, “Cannon-house”

or 'Canron-department'. The word is the same that appears in reports from Constantinople as the *Tophaneh*. Unless the traditions of Donna Tofana are historical, we are strongly disposed to suspect that *Aqua Tofana* may have had its name from this word.

- 1687 — "*The Toptchi*" — These are Gunners, called so from the word *Tope*, which in Turkish signifies cannon, and are in number about 1200 distributed in 52 chambers, their quarters are at *Tophana* or the place of Guns in the suburbs of Constantinople."

— *Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire*

- 1726 — "Isfandar Chan, Chief of the Artillery (called the Daroger of the '*Topscanna*')."

— *Valentyn*, iv, (*Surate*) 276.

- 1765 — "He and his troops knew that by the treachery of the *Tope Khonnah Droger* (Daroga) the cannon were loaded with powder only."

— *Holwell, Hist. Events, etc.* i, 96.

10. Capt. Edward Moor in his "*Narrative*" about the siege of Dharwar (A. D. 1794, London) records some account of the city of *Bijapur* (Chap. XXIII). In this account he devotes some pages to the description of the great guns at *Bijapur* (Pages 322-323). Some points from this description may be noted below :—

- (a) — Enormous size of the guns he saw at *Bijapur*.
- (b) — Moor measured 3 guns — Formerly all towers had guns, from which only 12 remained.
- (c) — Measurements of the *Malabar gun* on the South Eastern side of the fort (See p. 322) — Length from breech to muzzle = 27 feet — 5 inches — Diameter at the breech = 4 feet, 5 inches.

(d)—Short gun near the above monster called *Cutchā - Butchā*.

(e)—*Moolk e' Meidan*, largest gun on a tower on the south-western side with an inscription of *A. D. 1685* by Alum Geer, commemorating his conquest of Bijapur (see plate opposite p. 322)—Several Inscriptions on it in Arabic, and one in Persian—Several stone shot lying near the gun—also its rammer, which is like a mast.

(f)—The gun on *Ooperee-boorj* [called *Lumcherree* or *Far-flyer* (30 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times 9 ft.—2 inches at breech.

(g)—*Measurements of Moolk e' Meidan* :—

Diameter at the breech —	4 feet, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches
muzzle —	4 „ 8 „
of the bore —	2 „ 4 „
length —	14 „ 1 „
Circumference in the middle —	13 „ 7 „

Moor observes :—

“ The first and last of these guns are constructed of bars of *iron*, hooped round, not upon carriages, but lying upon blocks of wood. The *brass gun* is fixed on its centre on an immense iron inserted in the ground and grasping its trunnions in the manner of a swivel, breech resting on a block of wood, supported by a thick wall, so that it cannot recoil when fired.

Besides the inscriptions, the brass gun has several ornamental devices upon it, particularly about the muzzle, where, if we recollect right, a lion and a tiger are fighting, and one of their mouths expanded forms the muzzle of the gun, in a manner, to our recollection, not very clear. About the fort we saw several small guns cast

of brass, and curiously inlaid with gold and with *tiger mouths*, a plan Tippoo has followed in casting some of his field pieces.

We are told, that there never was but one other gun so large as *Moolk e' Meidan*, which was its sister, *Kurk o Bedjlee*, Thunder and Lightning and that it was *carried to Poona*, and perhaps melted down, as we never heard of it there. '

Pages 420 — 422 — Note XIII :—

"Several writers mention pieces of ordnance as almost incredibly large, but none that we have read of by any means approach *the magnitude of Moolk e' Meidan* and the others here described ; which we repeat may be depended upon, as their *dimensions were carefully taken*.

Dow (*History of Hindoostan*, Vol. II, p. 278) mentions two pieces of ordnance capable of receiving a *stone ball of six or seven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds*. "The size of these guns" he adds in a note, "might be reckoned incredible, did there not *remain to this day in India, pieces of as extraordinary a bore* : particularly *one at Arcot and another at Dacca*." Dow is, we think, deficient in not giving the *maund* by which he estimated the weight of this shot : a maund is a very indefinite term, as it varies in different parts of India, from twenty five pounds, the Madras standard, to seventy four in some parts of Bengal.

Hanway (*Travels in Persia*, Vol. I, page 452) speaking of a *gun in a city of Germany*, says, "It is a *brass mortar*, and will carry a *ball of seven hundred and thirty pounds to the distance of thirty-three thousand paces* and throw a *bomb of one thousand weight*." We do not clearly understand, how it could throw a bomb, by which we imagine *a shell is meant*, of greater weight than a shot, because the latter must necessarily be nearly the same diameter as the Calibre, and solid, which the former is not. Criticism is, however, thrown away upon so extraordinary a relation, which carries impossibility on its face as a very prominent feature : *how can any force of powder impel a ball of*

any dimensions thirty-three thousand paces?, which estimating the pace at two feet and a half, is upward of *fifteen miles*, or at only two feet, is *twelve miles and a half*?

Rennell in his *Memoir* (page 61) gives the mensuration of the gun near *Dacca*, spoken of by *Dow*; it is now fallen into river, together with the bank on which it rested. "As it may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers," says the Major, "I have here inserted the dimensions and weight of this gun. I took the measure very carefully throughout, and calculated each part separately. It was made of hammered iron, it being an immense tube formed of fourteen bars with rings of two or three inches wide driven over them and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the best executed piece of brass ordnance although its proportions were faulty.

Whole length —	22	feet	10½	inches
Diameter at the breech	3	„	3	„
„ 4 feet from the				
muzzle	2		10	„
„ at the muzzle	2		2½	„
„ at the bore	1		3½	„

The gun contained 234,413 cubic inches of wrought iron and consequently weighed 64,814 pounds avoirdupoise; or about the weight of eleven 32 pounders. Weight of an iron shot for the gun 465 pounds."

Allowing for windage, that is the difference of the diameter of a shot and the calibre of the gun, one-twentieth part of the latter, as allowed in the ordnance tables, an iron shot for Major Rennell's gun will be in diameter 1 foot 2 inches 37-100ths, and as the increasing gravity of solid iron globes is as the cube of their diameters, and as a 42 pounder is in diameter 6 inches 68-100ths, the weight of an iron shot for this gun is consequently 417 pounds 3-10ths. The calibre of a 42 pounder is 7 inches 3-100ths; of a 9 pounder 4 inches 21-100ths; a 9 pounder shot in diameter is 4 inches; therefore a shot for *Cutchá-Butchá*, the gun first described in the text, allowing

a calibre of 1 foot 9 inches, to require a shot of 1 foot 8 inches diameter, will weigh 1125 pounds. For *Lumcheree*, allowing 2 foot 35 – 100ths of an inch diameter for the shot of its calibre of 1 foot 1 inch it weighs 264 pounds 4–10ths. For the calibre of *Moolk e' Meidan* 2 feet 4 inches, allow the diameter of the shot to be 1 foot 2 inches 6–100ths, it will weigh 2646 pounds 7–10ths ! ”¹

Page 103 :— “On the top of the unfortified hill, one of those unwieldy, enormous pieces of ordnance, called before *Malabar Guns*, was found : it was ornamented with inscriptions and devices, and upon the whole, the handsomest of this kind of guns that came under the observation of any in our detachment.”

Pages 135-136 :— “We are still within hearing of the *Chittledroog morning and evening gun*, which we learned was fired from a *thirty-two pounder* on the top of the hill. *The custom of firing a morning and evening gun in Tippoo's garrisons*, appears by “Memoirs the of War in Asia, by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment,” page 155, to have commenced in 1793.

The hours of firing are six in the morning and nine in the evening.²

1. Compare the description of the “Great gun of Agra” by Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 600, footnote 2) :—

“A wonderful piece of ordnance known as “the Great Gun” of Agra was taken (by the British). It was a casting in Brass or similar alloy, 14 feet, 2 inches long, with a calibre or bore 23 inches in diameter. It weighed 96,600 pounds and could fire a shot weighing 1500 pounds. When General Lake tried to remove it to Calcutta it sank in the Jumna. Subsequently, Lord William Bentinck caused it to be blown up and sold as old metal.”

2. At present in Poona the hour “nine in the evening” is indicated by lowering the voltage of electric lamps. Formerly, in Poona this hour was indicated by the firing of a gun. In the *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly* (July–October 1946) p. 225 — *Mostyn's Diary* (for A. D. 1772 — 1774), P. 324 is quoted as referring to “Gunfire in the morning” at Poona.

Page 137 :— “ *Changerry* is a hill fort ... at the very top is a good tower, *with a six pounder*, the only decent gun in the fort, mounted on it.”

Page 17 :— “ The principal battery from which the Bhow’s (Parashuram Bhau’s) guns were fired is of *five guns* and called the *Ram battery*,¹ from having a favourite gun in it of that name.”

Page 24 :— “ A most tremendous fire of *guns, mortars, rockets*, and *musquetry* was poured from the fort and batteries.” (at *Dharwar fort*).

Page 40 :— “ these *guns* were originally made of *iron bars hooped round, and beaten into shape*: they will be spoken of hereafter by the name of *Malabar guns*, by which names Europeans know them.”

Page 506 :— “ *Limber* — A low two-wheeled carriage on which the trail of a gun is fixed when travelling: it is released in a moment if wanted to fire, which is called *unlimbering the gun*: the cattle being yoked to the *limber*, guns are of course dragged breech-first.”

Page 509₁ :— “ *Rocket* — A missile weapon consisting of an *iron tube of about a foot long* and an *inch in diameter*, fixed to a *bamboo rod of ten or twelve feet long*. The tube being filled with combustible composition is set fire to, and being directed by the hand, flies like an arrow to the distance of *upwards of a thousand yards*. Some of the *rockets* have a chamber and *burst like a shell*; others called *ground rockets* have a *serpentine motion* and on striking the ground rise again and bound along till their force be spent. The *rockets*

1. Possibly “ *Ram Battery* ” = *Parashuram Battery* named after Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan himself.

make a great noise and exceedingly annoy the native cavalry in India, who move in great bodies; but are easily avoided, or seldom take effect against our troops, who are formed in lines of great extent and no great depth— This article is taken from *Major Dirom's Glossary.*"

Page 510 :— "Tumbril— A carriage for the gun ammunition."

The foregoing notes on the use of the fire-arms by Capt. Edward Moor possess both historical and technical interest for the students of the history of fire-arms in India. Moor had a scientific outlook both in his study of men and manners, as also in his record of this study. His close study of the great guns at Bijapur is very *informative and instructive.*

(11) In Mr. N. G. Chapekar's book "पेशवाईच्या सावलीत" (Poona, 1937) we get the following references to fire-arms :—

A. D. 1758 — (Page 75) "तोफखाना" or Artillery Department of the Peshwa is referred to.

A. D. 1793 — (Page 87) — "तोफखाना."

A. D. 1779 — (Page 91) — Purchase of "दारू" or gun-powder :—

Rs. 2800 — Gun-powder¹ for *Tophs* or Guns.

Rs. 640 — — do — for *Banduks*

Rs. 78-12-0 — 250 Bags for gun-powder)

= Rs. 3518-12-0 Cost of gun-powder purchased from दुलमसेट गोविंदजी

Rs. 1600- 0-0 "तोफीदारू"

Rs. 960- 0-0 "बंदुकी दारू"

A. D. 1780 — Rs. 276- 0-0 "तोफीदारू"

Rs. 56- 4-0 Bags for gun-powder

A. D. 1781 — Rs. 62- 8-0 Repairs to a gun called 'सरनागीन'; (page 92) — Special earth (for

1. Burgess (p. 145 of *Chronology of Modern India—A. D. 1494 — 1894*) — "A. D. 1702 Gunpowder first manufactured at Madras."

casting the gun “सरनागीन”) brought from Alibag.

Rs. 25-0-0 For melting a temple-bell, the metal being used for casting the gun “सरनागीन.”

A. D. 1773 — “तोफखाना”

A. D. 1789 — (Page 151) Rs. 15-8-0 For purchasing a बंदुका.

A. D. 1770 — (Page 156) 6 annas for purchasing 28 bullets for *banduks*.

A. D. 1828 — (Page 255) “बंदुका”

A. D. 1769 — (Page 155) For *Banduks* on Purandar Fort Rs. 62-8-0.

A. D. 1790 — (Page 92) “दारुचे बारखान्याकडे वासे”

It appears from the above notes that the casting of some guns and repairs to them was done at Poona or in its vicinity by local workmen. Some *Banduks* were also manufactured by local blacksmiths. On page 274, Rs. 5-1-6 have been debited on account of payment to a blacksmith (धनाजी लोहार सिरडोणकर) for preparing a new *Banduk*. A “पंचरसी तोफ” is also mentioned on this page.

The chronology of the references about the manufacture and use of fire-arms in India recorded above may be tabulated briefly as follows :—

Source	Chronology-A.D.	References.
<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>	1260-1277	Usages of the word <i>Banduk</i> = cross-bow and <i>al-Bandukāni</i> = Man of the pellet bow.
<i>Ancient Monuments of Kashmir</i> by R. Kak	1421-1472	Zain-ul-Abidin rules in Kashmir - His Persian treatise on <i>Fire-works</i> . He gave impetus to <i>paper-manufacture</i> .
	1466	<i>Fire-arms</i> , first introduced into Kashmir.

Source	Chronology—A D.	References.
<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>	1573	Manufacture at Fez of <i>Cannon</i> and <i>powder</i> by Christian captives.
<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> of Abdul Fazl	C. 1590	<p>Detailed description of the <i>Artillery</i> Department of Akbar—<i>Artillery</i> is called "<i>Locks and keys of Empire</i>"—Number and variety of ordnance unmatched except in <i>Rocm</i>—Cannon carrying a ball of 12 maunds—cannon requiring many elephants and 1000 bullocks for transportation—Akbar's great personal attention to this Department, with many officers and clerks—Akbar's invention of many kinds of ordnance—Seventeen pieces discharged by one match—<i>Gujnāl</i>, <i>Nurnāl</i>—Special <i>Artillery</i> for each Sublā—Cannon for battery and boats prepared by skillful artists—large salaries to Officers.</p> <p>Rules for special fire-arms for Akbar's use—<i>Bundooks</i> that do not burst even though filled up to the muzzle—Smallest <i>Bundook</i>, two spans long and longest of 2 ells—<i>Bundooks</i> fired without a match, merely by the motion of the trigger.</p> <p>Akbar's personal supervision—Chiefs of Artists are <i>Ostad Kebeer</i> and <i>Hussain</i>—Akbar working like an <i>Artillery</i> engineer while in the Harem, supervising every detail of the manufacture of <i>Bundooks</i>—Rungeen or coloured muskets—<i>Akbar's invention of a wheel</i> to polish 16 muskets in a short time—Royal <i>Artillery</i> workshops—Akbar's daily firing practice—<i>Sangram</i> musket for hunting—four scales of pay for officers of the <i>artillery</i>—Author of some works on firearms.</p>

Source	Chronology-A.D.	References.
<i>Catalogue of Venetian Coins by Aravamuthan.</i>	1597 C. 1625 1632 1656 C. 1672 1680	Death of a Milanese Gunner at Lahore. Musket barrels wrought in gold etc. brought by Venetians. A Venetian "maker of artillery" employed by the Mogol Emperor. Manucci the Venetian "artillery-man" entered service under Dara Shukoh. A great piece of cannon, carrying about 540 pounds of gun-powder, cast by a native of Rome and mounted on the walls of Bijapur. Reference to a match-lock capable of firing 5/6 times after <i>one</i> loading only.
<i>Sanskrit Poetesses.</i>	Before 1600	References to बहिर्घुर्ण (gun-powder), गोलिका (bullet) and मुशफडा (musket) by Poetess <i>Gauri</i> .
<i>Saint Tukārām's Works.</i>	1608-1649	Reference to "गोलिया" (bullets)
<i>Raghu-nātha Paṇḍita.</i>	C. 1676	Explanations of the terms बाण, बरखंदाज, बन्दुक, दारू, जबजंग, जम्बूरा, काना, and गोलंदाज in the राजव्यवहारकोश (शस्त्रवर्ग)
<i>Bernier's Travels.</i>	1656-1668	Bernier describes Aurangzeb's <i>Artillery</i> — employment of <i>Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, French</i> , etc., on high pay — Two kinds of artillery, <i>heavy</i> and <i>light</i> — The use of the fire-work called " <i>Cherkys</i> " to separate fighting elephants — Heavy cannon drawn on carriages — Musketeers and foot artillery — camels, elephants and oxen used for transport of guns — ammunition chests on gun-carriages.
<i>obson- obson.</i>	1687	Topchi (gunners) and Tophana (तोफ-खाना) at Constantinople.

Source	Chronology-A. D.	References
Burgess	1702	Gun-powder first manufactured at Madras.
<i>Ajñāpatra</i> of Rāma-chandra Amātya.	21st Nov. 1716	Description of Shivaji's standing Army — Musketeers, howmen, and their equipment — दाखगोळी, बाण, होके, भांडी, etc. रामचंद्राया, दुराव्या, फिलनाक, सुनरनाल, माज्यावराल भांडी, करोल, — Standing army, consisting of लश्कर, हशम, आडाव, बंदुकी, तिरंदाजी, करोल, Special care of the Artillery on forts — दाखाना दाखूचे बस्ते, बाण, होके, to be kept dry in the rainy season — Periodic inspection of ordnance by Havaladar — High officers on the fort should practise musketry.
Edward Moor's <i>Narrative</i> .	1794	Ordnance for the Navy — भांडी, जंजुरे, बंदुका, दाखगोळी, हुके, etc. Naval Cannonading against enemy. Moor's description and measurements of the <i>Great-guns</i> at Bijapur. Moolk e' Meidan, <i>Lumcherree</i> , <i>Malbar Gun</i> , <i>Kurk o Bedjlee</i> (Perhaps melted down) — <i>Dow</i> referring to big guns at Arcot and Dacca. Hanway's reference to a big gun in a German city, carrying a ball of 730 pounds. Renell's description of the <i>gun</i> near Dacca (fallen into river) as weighing 64,814 pounds. "Malbar guns" so called by Europeans were made of iron bars hooped round and beaten into shape.
N. G. Chapekar's "पेशवाईचे सावलीत."	1758-90	<i>Major Dirom's</i> description of a <i>Rocket</i> . <i>Tophkhānā</i> (Artillery) of the Peshwas — Dealers in gun-powder at Poona — Two kinds of gun-powder, one kind for <i>Tophs</i> and the other for <i>Banduks</i> — Casting of a gun called "सरनागिन" by melting a temple-bell — Purchase

Source	Chronology-A.D.	References.
<i>Peshwa Daftar Selection</i> No. 45 p. 101.	December 17:9	of <i>Banduks</i> and bullets— <i>Banduks</i> prepared by local black-smiths— “दरुचा कारखाना”—Bags of gun-powder. Purchase of cannon by the Peshwas from the English—Ramaji Mahadeva purchased pieces of Cannon from the English, each weighing more than 20 sers.
इतिहाससंग्रह by Parasnis (Jan. 1911) ऐतिहासिक टिपण No. 22.	1753-1799	Tipu Sultan manufactured guns for his army and ceased purchasing guns imported by the English.

I hope the data collected in the present paper as also those in my previous paper will give the readers a fair idea about the use and manufacture of guns and gun-powder in India between about A.D. 1450 and 1850. I propose to deal with the use of gun-powder before A. D. 1400 in and outside India in another paper, as soon as sufficient evidence is gathered for this purpose. During my study of this topic, which is strictly realistic, I have failed to develop the view entertained by some previous writers on this subject that fire-arms were known in ancient India.

JAINISM IN GUJARĀTA*

BY DR. A. S. GOPANI

From time immemorial Jainism has not played so important a role in other parts of India as it has in Gujarāta where Ariṣṭanemi¹, the twenty-second Tirthankara had practised very hard austerities and had at last obtained absolution and where many a Jaina pontiff earned eternal freedom on the famous mountains of Gīrnār and Śatruṅjaya. In 980² of the Vīra Samvat, a big conference of the Śvetāmbara Jaina monks was held here at Valabhī which drew up for the third time a redaction of the Jaina Canon as it is found to-day. This fact illustrates the remark made above that Jainism enjoyed an eminent position in Gujarāta from very early times. Additional support to this is also furnished by the Kṣatrapa inscription no. 9 of the Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāta.³ If the word, "Kevaḷī" used there in that mutilated inscription be

* I have based this article entirely on the informations contained in the following articles and books. Footnotes have been attached only to important and specific statements :—

(1) Muni Jinavijaya's article "Gujarātano Jainadharmā" (GJ) pp. 88-119; Gujarātī Granthakāra Sammelana Vyākhyānamālā, Pub. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1938.

(2) Muni Jinavijaya's article "Rājarṣi Kumārāpāla" (RK) Bhāratiya Vidyā (Guj-Hindi) Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 211-245.

(3) Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (Vol. II). (HK), Ed. Rasiklal Parikh. Pub. Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1938..

(4) *Madhyakālano Sāhitya Pravāha* (MSP), Gujarātī Sāhitya, Vo...5. Bombay, 1929, pp. 66-114.

(5) *Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (JSSI), M.-D. Desai, Bombay, 1933.

(6) H. V. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*. (DJ).

1. Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, Vol. II. Ed. Rāsiklal C. Parikh Pub. Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1938, (HK), Introduction, p. XXI.

2. *Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (JSSI), M. D. Desai, Bombay, 1933, para 32.

3. HK (cited above), Intr. p. XLIII.

taken as referring to the famous Jaina word "Kevalī", then, proves the existence of the Jainas in Saurāṣṭra in the second century A. D.

Rulers of distinguished dynasties who were either converted to Jainism or at least showed a notable aptitude for are not few. At the cost of his life even, Śīlaguṇasūri, a Jain monk of repute, had sheltered⁴ Vanarāja of the Cāvaḍa dynasty in course of his wanderings and had taken special care to see that he was not found out by his foes. Not only that but the Sūri always cheered him up with sweet, sympathetic words when the latter was in low spirits usually due to his hard chequered and lonely life which would have surely given way had he not found in Śīlaguṇasūri, a friend, philosopher and guide. When Vanarāja was made a king, he reciprocated the obligation of Śīlaguṇasūri, by declaring his implacable faith in *Jainism*. This sincerity of his increased day by day, and at last found a concrete expression in getting a Jain temple erected at Aṇahilavāḍa wherein he has mentioned himself as pupil of Pārśvanātha.⁵

Mostly, it is the illustrious kings of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujārāṭa who patronized Jainism. Mūlarāja, the famous founder of that dynasty was a Śaivite by religion. It cannot be denied, however, that he had a fancy for Jainism which materialized in the erection of a Jain temple. When Bhīma was the ruler, Vimala, a devout Jain layman, got constructed on Mount Ābu, many a Jain temple of matchless workmanship, collectively called "Vimalavasahi".⁶ Only on account of these, Mount Ābu has become a symbol of everlasting glory and grace. The inimitable craftsmanship of the lofty summits bestows on them a charm which is freshly felt at every visit. Pilgrims, scholars and architects come from abroad to see and study their wondrous art and beauty but they have not so far succeeded to go at the very root of their original conception and perfect execution responsible

4. *JSSI* (cited above), Para. 235.

5. Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, trans. C. H. Tawney. p. 19.

6. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. p. 169.

for their high spectacular value. They are both a riddle and a challenge and this is no small a share on the part of Jainism in bringing world-wide fame to Gujarāta.

But as far as pure scholarship is concerned, the reputation of Gujarāta owes not so much to anything as it does to Hemacandra, a polymath, an encyclopaedist. Hemacandra's original name was Cāṇigadeva. He was the son of Cacca by Cāhiṇī and was born at Dhandhukā in Gujarāta in about 1088⁷ A. D. In one of his religious tours, Devacandra came across this boy prodigy who was finally initiated, at a young age of about nine, in the Jaina order after repeated request of the boy and with the willingness of the parents. He was thereafter known as Somacandra. Within a short time, this gifted monk obtained complete mastery on the Jaina scriptures and his able guru introduced him to the intricacies of the traditions. An amazing output of literary work possessing intrinsic worth is the result of his extensive knowledge purified and balanced by his comparative studies. His precocity and personality made him an Ācārya at the age of 21. He was henceforth known as Hemacandra. His skill and efficiency are markedly evidenced in the fact that he was able to attract Siddharāja who was somewhat fastidious and temperamentally reluctant to grant undue favours to the Jinas. Though Śaivism was his religion of choice, he also showed special sympathy to Jainism. This is amply testified by his generous invitations to the Jaina pandits, along with others, to take part in the debates and discussions at the royal court. Siddharāja inspired Hamacandra to draw up a special and an authoritative work on Grammar which was styled by the latter as *Siddhahema* in token of deep sense of respect and gratitude combining the first part of the names of the patron and the protege. Whenever he got opportunities to give instructions to the king he did not lose sight of his sole aim to prove the superiority of Jainism to the rival schools. But Hemacandra could not convert him. However, the king discharged his deep debt to

7. G. Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina monches Hemacandra*, Denkschriften der Kais Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1889.

him by getting built a temple of Mahāvīra at Siddhapura⁸ and by going on a pilgrimage with Hemacandra to Gīrnār to pay respects to Neminātha. An interesting debate held between a Digambara Kumudacandra of Karṇāṭka, and a Śvetāmbara Devacandra held at the court of Siddharāja is fully indicative of his sincere love for Jainism.

In 1143 (A. D.)⁹ Siddharāja died heirless and was succeeded by his brother's son Kumārapāla. He was attracted by the magnetic personality and the winning manners of Hemacandra who gave him spiritual lessons and instructions on Jainism. In the fertile soil of Kumārapāla's heart, these sowed seeds of Jainism and in course of time, they ripened into unflinching devotion for the same.

Kumārapāla's faith reached consummation when he openly embraced the Jaina religion the practices of which were begun with first giving up meat.¹⁰ This was soon followed by his last farewell to hunting.¹¹ His sincerity to Jainism was not limited to himself only. He made it a point to spread it amongst his subjects as much as possible by issuing edicts, prohibiting animal-slaughter,¹² meat, drinking and gambling. These royal firmans bestowed an ideal Jaina character on the state, in and out. With a view to tempt them to close slaughter-houses, their owners were given three years' proceeds in advance and the Brāhmins were strictly enjoined to offer grain, instead of animals, in the sacrifices.¹³ It was also stressed therein that they should be observed rigorously. This proves how intensely the king was devoted to Jainism. Hemacandra had also taken every care to see that the king was under his direct control and influence and to achieve his end, he proposed some changes in the traditional methods of

8. HK. (cited above), Intr. p. CLXXXVIII.

9. G. H. Oza, *Rājputānekā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, pp. 218-219.

10. H. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* (Df), pp. 61-62.

11. HK (cited above), Intr. p. CCX,

12. Muni Jinavijayji's article "Rājarshi Kumārapāla" (RK), Bhāratiya Vidyā (Guj. Hindi), Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 233.

13. Df (cited above), pp. 61-62.

administering and managing the state. Rājāśekhara's *Prabandha-kośa* describes a vivid instance¹⁴ to illustrate this point.

"In the first half of Āśvin, the worshippers of the Kāṇṭheśvarī temple and also of the other temples came to the king to request him to offer to the goddess 700 goats and 7 buffaloes on the 7th day, 800 goats and 8 buffaloes on the 8th day and 900 goats and 9 buffaloes on the 9th day, according to the family conventions. Puzzled at this the king went to Hemacandra for solution which was promptly supplied to him. He then went to the worshippers and accepted to respect the family practice. At night he sent for the animals to be offered to the goddess and placed them in the courtyard of the temples, duly locking them. Next morning, the king came and ordered the gates of the temples to be opened. When he saw the animals comfortably ruminating he made a very caustic remark to the Brāhmins conveying that had the goddess so desired, she would have made a relishable meal of them all but as it is not so it is abundantly clear that she has no palate for them. So enough of this fuss and he would henceforth never allow any carnage of this sort. Thus the Brāhmins were foiled in their foul and fanatic attempt."

Kumārapāla had personally visited several Jaina places of pilgrimage to commemorate which he got erected many Jaina temples thereon. Before he accepted the Jaina religion, he underwent penitence by getting built Jaina temples, thirty-two in number, as the number of the teeth, which ate flesh is also thirty-two.¹⁵

Under a liberal patronage of this king, Hemacandra largely applied himself to writing works of permanent value on almost every branch of general literature. Confining him-

14. (a) G. Bühler, *U-ber das Leben des Jaina monches Hemacandra*, Denkschriften der Kais Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1889, pp. 45ff.

(b) DJ. (cited above), p. 63.

(c) U. S. Tank, *Some Distinguished Jains*, 2nd edition, Agra, 1918, pp. 1ff. (d) RK (cited above), p. 234.

15. DJ (cited above), pp. 63-64.

self within the limits of Jainism, he drew out a volume on Yoga. He has written two bulky books entitled the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣcaritra* and the *Kumārapālacaritra*, the first on the universal history and the second on the lives and achievements of the Caulukya kings in general and of Kumārapāla in particular. He also touched politics, as is evident from the fact that he has also written a small treatise, called *Laghvarhannīti*, describing within the bounds of Jainism, the art of ruling the state. This is, I think, a first bold example of the Jaina saint trying his hand at secular subjects. This makeshift of sagacious Hemacandra may appear unimportant to us at present but it means much when it is viewed in the light of the then existing social conditions which were permeated by the spirit of orthodox Jainism. Hemacandra could foresee that if Jainism was to be popularized it must cater to the public taste without really sacrificing the principles of Jainism. Hemacandra's wisdom and genius are markedly seen in this work which successfully tackles both the diametrically opposed problems. Not only this but he effectively intervened in the administration of the state the policy of which did bear a clear stamp of his irresistible personality. There is also recorded a great number of anecdotes testifying to his having carried out many projects through his sheer supernatural power and to his having made auguries¹⁶ which came out true. In one of these he is described to have guaranteed security to Kumārapāla who was intimidated by the invading enemy. According to it the goddess of Jainism so arranged that the necklace of the enemy king got intertwined with the branch of a tree when he was resting on an elephant at night and this resulted in his instantaneous death. Thus the prestige of Hemacandra was any how saved.

Hemacandra died in about 1229 (V. S.) at the ripe age of 84 by fasting unto death. In a short time of six months, Kumārapāla also followed him in 1230 (V. S.) living a good old age of about 80 years.¹⁷ He was succeeded by Ajaya-

16. RK' (cited above), p. 241.

17. *Madhyakālano Sāhitya Pravāha*, Gujarātī Sāhitya, Vol. 5 (MSP) Bombay, 1929, p. 90.

pāla, a bigoted Śaivite. Jainas were, on the whole, not well treated by him.¹⁸ The fact that Rāmendra, a Jaina pandit, was killed by him by placing him on a heated copperplate proves his apathy towards the Jainas.

In the beginning of the 13th century of the Vikrama era the Caulukyās were succeeded by the Waghelās. In their regime the two brothers, named Vastupāla and Tejapāla strained every nerve to keep Jainism in the front rank. They both rose to the status of ministers¹⁹ and earned good reputation by their unparalleled generous deeds. Anupamā, the wife of Tejapāla, chiefly inspired these brothers to spend their enormous wealth in such a way that it can only be seen but not looted and hence these two brothers mainly acting on this suggestion, spent a lot on getting Jaina temples erected on Ābu, Gīrnār and Śatruñjaya.

The development of Jainism is inseparably linked with certain well-known cities of Gujarāta. Broach²⁰ is one of such cities. It has enjoyed a particular privilege of being the seat of Jainism. There was a big temple, in old days, of Muni-suvrata named Śakunikāvilāra.²¹ This city was largely inhabited, in those days, by the Bauddhas and the Jainas. Bhuvana,²² a learned pupil of Ārya Khapuṭācārya,²³ vanquished in debate the Bauddhas and their leader, Baṭṭukera²⁴ in about 4 (V. S.). Ārya Khapuṭācārya made the image of Buddha bend a little through his supernatural powers which is still there in the same condition at present and is popularly known as "Nirgranthanāmita".²⁵

Śatruñjaya, a Jaina place of pilgrimage has from very old days been held in highest esteem. Even the kings went

18. MSP (cited above), p. 104.

19. U. S. Tank, *Some Distinguished Jains*, pp. 47ff.

20. MSP (cited above), p. 72.

21. MSP „ „ p. 72; p. 99.

22. MSP „ „ p. 73.

23. M P „ „ p. 73.

24. MSP „ „ p. 73.

25. *Op. cit.*; *loc. cit.*

there on a pilgrimage. An anecdote says that Vikrama, who was enlightened by Siddhasena had gone to Śatruñjaya, taking fourfold Samgha with him.²⁶ Bhāvaḍṣā,²⁷ a big Jaina merchant also did the same thing at the time when Vikrama, the ruler above-referred to was ruling. These two examples amply testify to the fact that Jainism was a favourite religion even with the kings and rich persons in so ancient times as the beginning of the Vikrama era. According to the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* of Dhaneśvara, this Tīrtha which had suffered much from the ravages of time was repaired in 108 (V. S.) by Jāvaḍṣā, the son of Bhāvaḍṣā.²⁸

Valabhī also has its own importance. It is traditionally believed that a certain Śīlāditya once ruled over Valabhī, the modern Valā in Kāthiāwār. He was converted to Jainism by Dhaneśvarasūri.²⁹ In this connection, it is necessary to remember in fairness to Jainism, that the Jaina monks undertook the work of propaganda not exclusively with the zeal of a missionary but they did so being inspired with the intrinsic worth of their creed. In other words, they were solely actuated in their preachings by objective considerations such as sympathy, benevolence, etc. Moreover, Valabhī in Saurāṣṭra, as I said before, had the honour of being a place where a conference was held to redact the Jaina Canon. On account of this and also on account of the facts that Nemi-nātha is connected with Gīrnār and Ārya Khapuṭācārya with Bhrgukaccha, Gujarāta reveals early traces of Jainism.

In V. S. 510, Ānandapur, the modern Vaḍṇagar was a very flourishing city. It was ruled over by a certain Dhruvasena. When he was very much grieved at the loss of his son, he was consoled by Dhaneśvara, a Jaina Ācārya, by reading to him *Kalpasūtra*, a Jaina work of supreme importance.³⁰ This sufficiently shows that Jainism continuously enjoyed the patronage of kings. Thus when Jainism was patronised and adopted by the royal persons in the south, it was also fostered by the Maitrakas of Valabhī.

26. *Op. cit* ; *loc. cit.*

27. *Op. cit*; *loc. cit.*

28. *Op. cit*; *loc. cit.*

29. *Op. cit*; p. 75.

30. *Op. cit*; p. 78.

Śrīmāla (which was also called Bhinnamāla) was the capital of Gujarāta before Pāṭan was recognized as such. It was a big city and a prosperous one on the borders of modern Gujarāta and Mārwar. There were no other such cities as can be ranked with Valabhī of Saurāṣṭra and Ānandapur-Vṛddhapur of Gujarāta. After some centuries, Valabhī dwindled down and a very long famine that lasted for twelve years destroyed it. This forced the people of the place to migrate to Śrīmāla. From this date the terms Śrīmālī Brāhmins, Śrīmālī Banias, and Śrīmālī Sonis began to be employed for those who shifted to Śrīmāla. In about the 9th century of the Vikrama Samvat, almost 700 families were proselytised to Jainism by Śāntisūri of the Pippalagaccha.³¹ Those who came to Śrīmāla from the east were called Porwāḍas. The history of Gujarāta fully supports the view that both the Śrīmālīs and the Porwāḍīs came together to Pāṭan as they are seen together in the administration of the State.

Vanarāja, a King of the Cāvaḍā dynasty declared Pāṭan a capital of Gujarāta in 802 V. S. As mentioned before this Vanarāja was protected, when he wandered incognito, by a caityavāsī Jaina monk named Devacandra.³² This very monk celebrated the coronation of Vanarāja at Pañcāsara.³³ The image of Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha was set up by Vanarāja just to discharge a modicum of his deep debt to Jainism. He was a Jaina outright. This is evidenced in his selection of Cāmpā,³⁴ a Jaina Bania, as his prime minister. In connection with this it is well worth remembering that the present Cāmpāner took its name after him. It was Śrīdevī,³⁵ a Jaina lady, who put mark on the forehead of Vanarāja when he was proclaimed king. Lahir,³⁶ a Jaina, was made a general of the army. One of his ministers was Jāmba³⁷ a Śrīmālī Jaina. This Lahir

31. *Op. cit.* p. 79.

32. The *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* supports this name. But the *prācīna Jaina lekha Samgraha*, edited by Muni Jinavijayaji, part. 2, No. 510, mentions the name Śīlaguṇa-ūrī.

33. *MSP* (cited above), p. 79.

34. *Op. cit.; loc. cit.* 35. *Op. cit.; loc. cit.* 36. *Op. cit.; loc. cit.*

37. *Op. cit.; loc. cit.*

occupied the post of a general also in the regime of three kings who succeeded Vanarāja. He had a son named Vira and a grandson named Vimala. All these things leave no room for doubt that the Jainas were active participants in the administration of the State, that the Jainas who are stigmatized as cowards could guide military operations and that they could wage wars³⁸ and could successfully effect negotiations. This arrogation of power in every field by the Jainas tempted the Jainas of Mārwar to Gujarāta which had at that time become a home of the Jainas. Thus there is nothing wrong in saying that Jainism which exercised inescapable influence in the reign of Vanarāja suffered a little set-back when Siddharāja was a ruler, but was at its highest in the times of Kumārapāla. Moreover, there is a great number of references to show that the Cāvaḍās respected the Jaina Yatis so much that they appointed them as their family-priests.³⁹

References are also found to the effect that the kings of Sapādalakṣa and of Tribhuvanagiri were converted to Jainism by Pradyumnasūri of Rājagaccha. When Viragaṇin was raised to the status of an Ācārya, the occasion was celebrated with great eclat and pomp by Cāmuṇḍarāja, the son of Mūlarāja. This Ācārya gave the *vāsakṣepa*⁴⁰ to the king duly investing it with the māntric power. The queens who had up till now no sons took bath with the water mixed with it and as a result they got sons, Vallabharāja and others. All these incidents lead us to only one conclusion that Jainism was a religion of choice with king and queens alike. As it was a religion of the ruling power it found a general reception from the public also. The sterling character of the Jaina monks and the feeling of friendliness of the Jaina laity both combined to

38. "*Gujarātano Jaina dharma*" (Gj), by Muni Jinavijayaji, Gujarāti Granthakāra Sammelanna Vyākhyānamālā, pub. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1938 p. 111. 39. cf.

सिसोदीया संडेसरा, चउदसीआ चोहाण; चैत्यवासिया चावडा, कुलगुरु

एह वखाण.

MSP (cited above), p. 79.

40. MSP (cited above), 82.

set a good example on the society. Royal persons were more drawn towards it because it guided dispassionately the course of their conduct. There was a time when the Jaina world kept completely away from the hubbub and the turmoil. But as this indifference to hard realities put an undesirable check to its brisk spread it was soon replaced by living interest in what happened around. This modification of their attitude ensured a greater following. Though the beginnings of this change date back as far as the Vikrama era, they are more markedly seen from the times of the Cāvaḍās. This is seen in the Kings' adopting it as their favourite religion, in their joining the Jaina Samgha while going to a Jaina place of pilgrimage, in their erecting Jaina temples, setting up Jaina images and repairing the same, in their granting special concessions and privileges to the Jainas and in issuing edicts consistent with the spirit of Jainism.

The significance of Ahimsā, a cardinal principle of Jainism, has been largely and for the most part internationally, misunderstood. It has been interpreted as giving rise to or fostering cowardice and has been branded as a theory of the weak. This is certainly a misinterpretation. On the contrary, it is a creed of the brave, the fittest. It requires more guts, greater stamina for its strict application. And to be brief, it is the only principle which can secure both secular and spiritual well-beings. Therefore, it has never precluded the brave Jainas from entering into wars when they were sheer necessities. Not going beyond the bounds of Jainism, Śīlaguṇa sheltered Vanarāja; Hemacandra actively and ably guided Kumārapāla in the administration of the state and Cāmpā, Muñjāla and Vimāla waged wars. When Bhīmadeva I was a ruler, Vimāla, the general commander of his army, had defeated the twelve Sultans. He had thus earned a designation of द्वादशसुरत्राणलज्जोद्धारक.⁴¹

Gujarāta under the Caulukyās is the Gujarāta of Jainas. In private and public life, in the harem and outside, in art

41. *Op. cit; loc. cit.*

and architecture, in science and sculpture, the Jaina influence is the only influence that prevailed. So far as architecture is concerned, there is nothing in the world that can well compare with the famous Vimalavasahi. I may also mention one more example of the Jaina monks having been highly respected by the kings. Abhayadevasūri of the Harṣapurīyagaccha was held in high esteem by Karṇa who had also given him a nickname of "Maladhārī". He was equally loved by Kheṅgāra, the king of Saurāṣṭra. More than once, thousand Brāhmins were converted to Jainism by him.⁴² By his order King Bhuvanapāla exempted the worshippers of the Jaina temples from paying the taxes. Jayasimha of Ajmer and Prṭhvīrāja of Śākambharī also were attracted to Jainism by sheer preachings of this Sūri. The influence of Jainism in Gujarāta cannot be rightly and completely understood without referring to Sāntu, Udayana and Sajjana. Udayana was so much popular in the royal household that he was more known as a Rājamāmā.⁴³ He was made a Subā of Cambay. Sajjana had repaired the Jaina temples on Gīrnār by spending the revenue of Saurāṣṭra of which he was the Subā. As the men at the helm of affairs were all Jainas, the people of Śrīmāla which had, on account of famine and otherwise, become unattractive, were drawn towards Gujarāta. Gurjaradeśa thus became a Jaina State from east to west and south to north. I am once more reiterating the point that every field was practically captured by the Jainas. In Gujarāta under the Caulukyās, literary output also was mainly due to the vigorous attempts of the Jainas. Śrīpāla, a blind Jaina, was poet laureate in the court of Siddharāja who loved him so much that he was nicknamed "Pratipannabandhu"⁴⁴ and he was given the title of "Kavicakravartī"⁴⁵ by Siddharāja. In appreciation of his high intellectual gifts, Siddharāja declared his desire to give a lac of gold Mohurs to Devasūri when the latter worsted a Digambara Jaina pandit named Kumudcandra in debate. As money is forbidden to a Jaina monk, it was spent in build-

42. *Op. cit.*; p. 84. 43. *Op. cit.*; p. 85. 44. *Op. cit.*; p. 86.

45. *Op. cit.*; *loc. cit.*

ing a Jaina temple called Rājavihāra⁴⁶ where an image of Rṣabhadeva was installed by Siddharāja. He had also honoured Amarcandra and Ānanda with the titles of "Vyāghraśīśuka"⁴⁷ and "Simhaśīśuka"⁴⁸ respectively. The king had such a love for Viñā ārya that he was rendered unable to go away from the city by ordering the gates to be closed when Viñā ārya was about to move out. He was also presented with the Jayapatākā by the king when he inflicted a defeat upon Vādisimha, a dialectician, with the help of Govindsūri. Siddharāja had also constructed a Jaina temple of Suvidhinātha⁴⁹ the 9th Tīrthankara. All these actions of Siddharāja prove his deep-seated sympathy for Jainism of which he made no secret.

When Kumārapāla came to the throne, Jainism was at its zenith. All the important posts were filled by the Jainas and key positions guarded by them. Thus Jainism found a good deal of convenience for its spread and development. When it became a religion of the royal persons openly, the subjects also prided themselves on adopting it. The wisdom of the Jaina monks lay in securing the royal patronage. Moreover, the Jaina saints spared no pains to help the royal persons tide over their difficulties. They brightened their spirits in their gloomy moments; they had led them to light from darkness; in short they doctored them so far as their spiritual health was concerned. Thus when they came to power, they did not forget the real obligation of the Jaina monks and Jainism. They discharged it in a number of ways referred to before and which shall be referred to now.

Udayana was now no more. His place was taken by his illustrious sons. Āmbaḍa inflicted a defeat on Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa and earned for him the title of "Rājapitāmaha"⁵⁰. Vāhaḍa was a brave warrior and a brilliant literary man—

46. RK (cited above), p. 226.

47. MSP (cited above), p. 86. 48. *Op. cit.*; *loc. cit.*

49. *Op. cit.* p. 88. 50. RK (cited above), p. 243.

a curious admixture of two incompatible merits. He wrote the *Āgghaṭṭālamkāra* and was raised to premiers ip. Cāhaḍa and Sollāka, the third and the fourth sons, occupied responsible posts. Thus Jainism found favourable winds in its voyage. It gave the message of deliverance to the suffering humanity. Animal-slaughter and a long train of vices associated with it were prohibited by ordinance. Special grants and concessions were given to the Jainas as per royal firmans. Old Jain temples were repaired, broken images were restored and new ones were set up, scribes were employed to copy the books on palm-leaves or papers, Blāṇḍārs were established and art and architecture were unsurpassingly perfected.

Śakunikāviḥāra Tīrtha at Broach was repaired by Āmbāka, the son of Rāṇiga and a pavement of some stone was carved out to the Mount Gīrnār by the same gentleman.⁵¹ Kumārapāla's ardent love for Jainism is fully demonstrated by his visits to the Śatruñjaya off and on, by his 16000⁵² reparations of old Jaina temples, and by placing golden jars on 144⁵³ temples of the Jainas. He built quite a good number of new Jaina temples of which "Kumāravihāra"⁵⁴ is the first. It was set up at Pāṭaṇ under the supervision of Vāhaḍa and the sons of Gargaśeṭha. That Viḥāra (a collective term) contained twenty-four Jaina temples. "Tribhuvanaviḥāra"⁵⁵ was the next big Viḥāra that was formed of seventy-two small Jaina temples. Twenty-four Jaina temples representing twenty-four Tīrthankaras as well as Viḥāra called "Trivihāra"⁵⁶ were all constructed only at Pāṭaṇ, excluding others that were built elsewhere. This gives us a pretty fair idea of the devotional depth of King Kumārapāla for Jainism.

Most of these magnificent monuments of the Jainas succumbed to the iconoclastic whim of the Muslim kings and to the anti-Jaina attitude of Ajayapāla.⁵⁷ Of those that surviv-

51. *MSP* (cited above), p. 89.

53. *Op. cit.*; *loc. cit.*

55. *Op. cit.* p. 239.

57. *Op. cit.* p. 104.

52. *Op. cit.* p. 90.

54. *RK* (cited above), p. 231.

56. *MSP* (cited above), p. 90.

ed, one on the Tāraṅgā hills, symbolically expresses the firm faith of king Kumārapāla in Jainism. In addition to those glorious actions of king Kumārapāla, indicating his sincerity of Jainism, he founded twenty-one Jaina Bhāṇḍārs, put a stop to animal-slaughter by a royal declaration technically called "*Amārighoṣaṇā*"⁵⁸ and cancelled the law confiscating the uninherited property.⁵⁹ It is sufficiently obvious from all these facts that Kumārapāla was a confirmed and a devout Jaina and therefore he was called a "Paramārhat",⁶⁰ a staunch follower of Arhat.

Kumārapāla was succeeded by Ajayapāla—his cousin. Unlike his worthy predecessors, he was ill-disposed to Jainism which was once more restored to its original dignity and status by the unexceptional generosity of Vastupāla and Tejapāla which has no parallel in the history of the whole world. Vastupāla, who was also called "Laghu Bhojarāja"⁶¹ on account of his bounteous nature, had founded three Bhāṇḍārs spending after them a huge amount of eighteen crores of rupees.⁶² It is also gratifying to note that he, whose wealth reached a mathematical figure, was instead of being a bigoted Jaina, equanimous to non-Jaina schools of thought also. Thus there are clear references to show that he spent lacs of rupees in making arrangements for the worships of the Hindu temples at places like Someśvara, Bhṛgukaccha, Śuklatīrtha, Vaidyanātha, Dwārikā, Kāśī-Viśvaṇātha, Prayāga, etc. etc.⁶³ A similar example of the catholicity of the Jainas is also provided by Shah Sālīga Desalaharā, the brother of Samarāśā, who restored the famous Rudramahālaya at Siddhapur.⁶⁴ This shows that the considerations of caste, colour and creed did not interfere with their liberalities.⁶⁵ These two brothers — Sālīga and Samarā—stood by the people and served

58. *HK*, Intr. p. CCXI.

59. *RK* (cited above), p. 228.

60. *RK* (cited above), p. 224.

61. *MSP* (cited above), p. 108.

62. *Op. cit.*; *loc. cit.*

63. *GJ* (cited above), p. 113.

64. *Op. cit.* p. 98.

HK, Intr. p. CLXXXVIII footnote.

65. *GJ* (cited above), p. 112. compare.

them at the time of the devastating invasion of Allāuddin. It is a truism to say that the charitable disposition is a racial characteristic of the Jains. This has been fully dealt with in the foregoing pages while, referring to Udayana, Āmbaḍa, Vāhaḍa, Bhāvaḍaśā, Vimāla, and Jāvaḍaśā. Jagaḍuśā is another instance to the point. He was a native of Bhadreśvara in Cutch and he distributed lacs of maunds of grain to the famine-stricken people.⁶⁶

To sum up, the administration of the state, in the Caulukya and the Wāghelā periods was entirely in the hands of the Jains. The whole policy regarding it was formulated and shaped by them. Jāmba, Nedha, Vimāla, Muñjāla, Sāntu, Āśuka, Udayana, Āmbaḍa, Vāhaḍa, Sajjana, Soma, Dhavala, Prthvīpāla, Vastupāla, Tejapāla, Pethaḍa, and Samarāśā⁶⁷ are some of these distinguished Jains of the Caulukya and the Wāghelā periods, who were entrusted with the onerous and responsible duty of administering the state. The architecture of these periods is under deep debt to the Jains for its conception, execution, and perfection.⁶⁸ Its exquisiteness becoming manifest through the Jaina temples at Śatruñjaya, Gīrnāra, Tāraṅgā, Ābu, Pāvagaḍha, Zaghaḍā, Kāvi, Chhānī, Mātar, Bārejā, Pethāpur, Pānsar, Serisā, Śankheśvara, Bhoyaṇī, Metrāṇā, and Bhilaḍiā and various other cities and villages of Gujarāta, is perennial.⁶⁹ It is they that have kept alive the art and architecture of the Caulukya Gujarāta. And what about literature? It also bears equally perceptible imprint of the Jaina genius. The monks stayed in the Upāśrayas at Anahilapur, Broach, Cambay, Kapāḍavañja, Dholkā, Dhandhukā, Karṇavātī, Dabhoī, Baroda, Surat, Pālaṇpur, Candrāvātī, Iḍar and Vaḍana-gara and turned out a vast amount of literature on almost all the topics as is evidenced through a bewildering lot of manuscripts which lie hidden in the Bhāṇḍārs of those places.⁷⁰ It is no less superior in quality and quantity to the Brāhmanical and the Buddhistic literatures in point of originality and imagination. The credit of establishing the

66. *Op. cit.* p. 114.67. *Op. cit.* p. 93.68. *Op. cit.* p. 104.69. *Op. cit.* p. 96.70. *Op. cit.* p. 105.

Pānjrāpols for breeding the cattle and protecting the crippled animals etc. goes to the Jainas of Gujarāta.⁷¹ This was their special innovation. It was, no doubt, an outcome of the extension of the principle of Ahimsā which means non-injury to men and animals alike. Though the Jainas are wedded to the principle of Ahimsā, they were not cowards necessarily. As I have said before,⁷² this observation is borne out by gallant Jain warriors such as Vimāla, Āmbaḍa, Lahir, Udyana, Vastupāla, and Sajjana. The equanimous attitude of the Jainas of Gujarāta to all the religions alike is amply testified by their erection of the temples of Śiva along with those of the Jina.⁷³ In short, in the Caulukya regime the life and literature, art and architecture, sculpture, politics and the public works, administration and education—everything of human interest and happiness was predominantly governed, conditioned and controlled by the Jain vision, intellect and common sense.

71. *Op. cit.* p. 109.

72. *Op. cit.* p. 111.

73. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

TWO ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS ON DREAMS

BY DR. R. G. HARSHE

Two illustrated MSS—one in the Gorhe Collection¹ of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, and the other in my own possession²—are unusually interesting both from the point of view of the subject-matter as well as the coloured illustrations with which they are accompanied. “Prognosticating Dreams” had been a favourite subject of the ancients and there is a lot of MSS. on “Svapnādhyāya” culled out from one Purāṇa or the other. But these two MSS., though essentially the same in thought-content, differ in the design and manner of presentation seeking no authority for their statements from some ancient sage of hallowed memory. Both of them have neither the beginning nor the end and are undated. The MS. G is however older than the MS. H and the latter might be a late copy of a similar work, as they come from different sources and though the topics dealt with are the same in the majority of cases, yet the verses dealing with the significance of the dreams are not always the same. G bears ample testimony to its Jain origin and the linguistic evidence places its original composition in the Apabhraṃśa stage. H is a later work as its illustrations are largely dominated by Muslim and Rajput art and can be safely assigned to the seventeenth century of the Christian Era, while G in comparison with H, cannot be later than the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

G is a small Ms. of the size of $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$. It begins with the 6th folio and continues upto the 95th. The missing

1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the V. M. Gorhe Collection, D. C. P. R. I., Poona, 1942, No. 84 pp. 28-29. Hereinafter named as MS. G.

2. For reference purposes it might be named H.

folios in between are : 44, 46, 56, 76, 78, 80-84, 92-93. From the arrangement of the illustrations and the signifying verses it seems that the first folio had the first picture and the second folio began with the verse under reference both presenting themselves to the view of the reader at the same time. It contains 79 drawings in all, out of which two have been completely worn out and un-identifiable, viz., those of 'Mṛtaka' and 'Digambara' and it is a great loss as it would have definitely shed a flood of light on the manner of carrying the head and the ways of the contemporary Digambar Jains. Had the 96th folio been available, we could have found out whether the composition belonged to the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara sect according to the authors' remarks.

It is a Ms. in a book-form of 5" × 4" in size, having the same kind of arrangement. It begins with the 14th folio and ends with 93rd.³ It contains 80 illustrations, two folios nos. 59 & 60), having been lost.

On a closer analysis of the drawings in both the manuscripts we find that out of the 79 plus 80 illustrations 79 deal with subjects common to both whereas 34 illustrations in each are different.⁴ They can be classified as follows :

1. *Mythological Personages* :—Gaṇeśa, Ādivarāha, Rudra, Vāsudeva, Lakṣmī, Dhanada, Nārada, Yudhiṣṭhira, Vetāla.
2. *Presiding Deities of the Planets* :—Āditya, Candra, Maṅgala, Budha, Brhaspati, Śukra, Rāhu.
3. *Physical objects* :—Mountain, Lake, Fire.
4. *Human beings* :—King, Muni, Yogī, Digambara, Bhikṣu, Bhaṛḍaka, Bhāṇḍaka, Saubhāgya-Sundarī, Vyavahāri, Daridra, Naṭa, Jarājīrṇa, Vṛddhakanyā, Śokapūmṣā, Śokastri, Pulindra, Vyādha, Kuṣṭhī, Adhaḥpatana, Kāṣṭhabhedana, Chinnapāda, Mṛtaka.
5. *Birds* :—Garuḍa, Rājamaṃsa, Mayūra, Gṛīphapaṇṣī (?),

3. It should be 95th as two numbers 62 and 63 are repeated.

4. For a complete list of the illustrations see Appendix II.

- Śvetapakṣa (?). Śuka, Kapota, Sārasa, Vāyasa, Ulūka, Kukkuṭa. Siñcānaka (?)
6. *Domesticated animals* :—Kāmadhenu, Savatsā-dhenu, Kuñjara, Turaṅgama, Uṣṭra, Vṛṣabha, Mahiṣa, Śambara, Śāraṅga, Gardabha, Śvāna, Śaśaka, Mārjāra, Mūṣaka.
 7. *Wild beasts* :—Śarabha, Aṣṭāpada (?), Simha, Vyāghra, Citraka, Ṛksa, Śūkara, Śṛṅgāla, Vānara, Nakula.
 8. *Acquatic animals* :—Makara, Matsya, Kacchapa, Dardura.
 9. *Reptiles, etc.* :—Nāga, Sarpa, Ghoṇa, Vṛścika.
 10. *Trees, Flowers, etc.* :—Kalpavṛkṣa, Āmra, Fruit-bearing Tree, Withered Tree, Lotus, Garland of Flowers.
 11. *Weapons* :—Śaṅkha, Khaḍga, Bow and Arrow, Shield, Mudgara, Śakti, Triśūla, Aṅkuśa.
 12. *Royal Insignia, etc.* :—Dhvaja, Chatra, Cāmara, Torāṇa.
 13. *Means of conveyance* :—Vimāna, Pleasure-Boat (Yānaka), Ship (Yāna).
 14. *Miscellaneous* :—Dharmacakra, Nandāvarta, Kāla-pāśa, Rājamandira, Nidī āna, Tulā, Pustaka, Darpaṇa, Dadhiblāṇḍa, Riktakumbha, Pūrṇakumbha.

These drawings cannot be said to be of extraordinary workmanship but are very important as objective representations of common-place things in a manner peculiar to them. In their crude simplicity they are still to be occasionally met with as wall-paintings in the old mediaeval temples and are worthy of being reproduced for their cultural value.

The illustrations in G are more or less pen and ink pictures in black against an ochre-coloured background sometimes relieved by yellow, red and light blue colour shades or the original skin colour of the paper itself. That it is a manuscript of Jaina origin is clear enough, apart from any other evidence, from such human figures as the king, the

Vyavahārī, Rāhu, Śokapuṁsā, Chinnapāda, Naṭāvu, Muni, Yogī, Dhanada, etc. The Vṛddhakanyā was looked upon with displeasure and had to subject herself to all kinds of scandalous criticisms, so much so, that her sight in dream even is regarded as a calamitous misfortune. All these pictures have peculiarly Gujarati faces and the Vyādha, instead of using the right hand for discharging an arrow, uses his left hand after the manner of the Gujaratis in general.⁵

The illustrations in H are more neatly drawn and with an eye to artistic effect. The pictures are set in broad square frames and deep line coloured borders. The colours used are more prominent and catching to the eye. Men and women figures represent in general the Mughal and Rajput types perhaps slightly modified in certain cases. In the typical picture of a Pulindra representing deer-hunt the left-hand is used in discharging the arrow instead of the right. The drawings in some cases are not quite realistic and the composition of some might even be objected to. For instance, the sub-marine Fire is shown to be blazing out in a vessel (No. 23) and the Mudgara has two flowering plants one on each side of it (No. 24). All human figures are almost alike irrespective of their characteristics and status. But apart from such blemishes from the point of view of art, we gather important information as regards the dress and manners, articles of common use, etc, from which it would not be difficult to have some obvious deductions on the social life of those days.

The critical examination of these MSS. will not be complete without a general discussion of their contents and the linguistic material that is made available to us owing to the very corrupt text in incorrect Sanskrit if it can be so termed. No elaborate theory of the Dreams has been attempted in these works but empirical observations have been recorded

5. It was noted by the present writer that in chivalrous scenes represented at the time of the All India National Education Conference at Ahmedabad in January 1930, the Gujarat heroes used their left hand more prominently in all their actions and speeches.

and strung together for the guidance of the general public. These, however, cannot be spurned aside as something non-sensical as it is the legacy of the ancient world and such recorded observations are available in almost all the countries alike. A comparative study of the available material supplemented by fresh data to be collected from different sources will probably enable us to formulate some basic theory and shed some new light on the Dream-Phenomenon which has been a subject of absorbing interest to modern psychologists.

APPENDIX I

(A) TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT G.

The text is given as it is, retaining the incorrect Sanskrit forms, to enable the philologist to study the linguistic peculiarities.

.....
 धनवृद्धि¹ शुभा प्रीति । रत्नलाभ तथोत्तमः ।
 वज्र वै(ह्र)य² लाभश्च । शंखयुग्मप्रसादतः ॥ ४ ॥
 अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं । शोकं कलहमेव च ।
 प्रीतिनाशमनारोग्यं । मृतकेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ५ ॥
 राजपूजां जयं चैव । ऋद्धिवृद्धिसमागमः ।
 सर्वकल्याणसंपत्तिः । ध्वजरूपं प्रसादतः ॥ ६ ॥
 अर्थनाशमनिवाणं । दारिद्र्यं रोगसंभवः ।
 संतापं चापि शोकं च । वानरेण प्रदर्शने ॥ ७ ॥
 आनन्दं च जयं चैव । स्त्रीणामपि समागमः ।
 वृद्धिं च विपुलां प्रीतिं । पूर्णकुम्भो प्रसादतः ॥ ८ ॥
 किं करिष्यसि दुबुद्धे । शोकं संतापमेव च ।
 दुःखं च दारुणं दौष्ट्यं । वायसेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ९ ॥
 स्त्रीलाभ अर्थलाभं च । धनधान्यं तथैव च ।
 शीघ्रमेव भवेत् सिद्धिः छत्ररूपं प्रसादतः ॥ १० ॥

1. The picture is missing.

2. The brackets indicate the missing word supplied.

ध्रुवं मृत्यु तथा दुःरकं । व्याधिं व्यसनपीडन० ।
 नित्यं च स्वजनैर्दैरं । रासभेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ११ ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । राजपूजा समागमं ।
 स्त्रीलाभ अर्थलाभं च । स्त्रीहूरूपं प्रसादतः ॥ १२ ॥
 अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं । रोगं शोकं तथैव च ।
 मातृपित्रोर्वियोगं च । ज्वकेन प्रदर्शने ॥ १३ ॥
 स्थानलाभं जयं चैव । पुत्रलाभं तथैव च ।
 नित्यं वृद्धिं धनं चैव । विमानेन प्रसादतः ॥ १४ ॥
 भयं शोकं च संतापं । स्थानभ्रंशं तथैव च ।
 अर्थनाशं क्षयं चैव । श्वानेनात्र प्रदर्शने ॥ १५ ॥
 प्रीतिं कल्याणमत्यंतं । प्रमोदं शोकनाशनं ॥
 महतीं चार्थसंपत्तिं । पद्मेनात्र विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ १६ ॥
 मित्रभेदं तथा शोकं । व्याधिमाधिं भयं तथा ।
 व्यसन० क्षिप्रमायातं । नकुलेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ १७ ॥
 स्थानवृद्धिर्जयं चैव । लाभं सिद्धिं तथैव च ॥
 कन्यालाभं च पुत्र० च । पुस्तकेन प्रसादतः ॥ १८ ॥
 व्याधिव्यसनसंतापं । शोकं जनविरागितां ।
 दारिद्र्यं वित्तहानिं च । अग्निरत्र विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ १९ ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । लाभं सौभाग्यमेव च ।
 ऋद्धिं वृद्धिं च सिद्धिं च ॥ धर्मचक्रं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २० ॥
 अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं । क्षिप्रमेव भयं तथा ।
 मरणं रोगशोकं च । वृद्धकन्या विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २१ ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । राजपूजा धनागमः ।
 महासौख्यं जयं चैव । हस्तीरूपं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २२ ॥
 वधबंधं तथा शोकं । क्षिप्रं मरणमेव च ।
 निनशिः सर्वकार्येषु । मूहिषेण प्रदर्शने ॥ २३ ॥
 धनवृद्धिं शुभं क्षेमं । क्षेत्रं वसु तथैव च ।
 धर्मकामार्थलाभं च । वृषभेन प्रसादतः ॥ २४ ॥
 वधबंधं तथा शोकं । मुग्ररोग विडंबनां ।
 महद्दुःरकं च शोकं च । करभेन प्रदर्शने ॥ २५ ॥

अर्थलाभो जयश्चैव । सौभाग्यं पुष्टिरेव च ।
 निर्वृत्तिः स्याच्च परमा । व्ययवहारी विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २६ ॥
 वधबन्धं परिक्लेशं । अर्थनाशं तथैव च ।
 नित्यं शोकमनारोग्यं । राहुरत्र विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २७ ॥
 राजपूजा धनं राज्यं । रोगशोकविनाशनं ।
 नित्यं कल्याणमेवस्य । लक्ष्मीरूपं प्रसादतः ॥ २८ ॥
 अर्थविघ्नमनिर्वाण । मारंभश्च निरर्थकान् ।
 शरीरे तापसंपत्तिः । वृश्चकेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २९ ॥
 सफलां कार्यसंपत्तिं । नित्यं वृद्धिं परां शुभा ॥
 निश्चितां कार्यसंसिद्धिं । फलीवृक्षो प्रसादतः ॥ ३० ॥
 कलहं स्थाननाशं च । सर्वारंभाविनाशनं ।
 आयासं चित्तदुःरकं च । रिक्तकुम्भो विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३१ ॥
 स्त्रीलाभ अर्थलाभं च । पुत्रलाभं तथैव च ।
 आरोग्यसुखसंपत्तिं । नंदाव(र्त्तो) विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३२ ॥
 अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं । देशान्तरगतं तथा ।
 नीचैस्तु कलहं चैव । तुला(रक)न विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
 सौभाग्य अर्थलाभं च । पुत्रलाभं तथैव च ।
 नित्यं वृद्धिं च हर्षं च । शुकरूपं प्रसादतः ॥ ३४ ॥
 विग्रहो विप्रयोगश्च । भार्याहानि तथैव च ।
 संतापस्य शरीरस्य । षडङ्गेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ३५ ॥
 समस्त सौख्यसंप्राप्तिं । तुष्टिमारोग्यमेव च ।
 धर्मार्थकामसौभाग्यं । मोररूपं प्रसादतः ॥ ३६ ॥
 कलहं विग्रहं चैव । महदुःरकं तथैव च ।
 अनिर्वाणं च हृदये । छत्रभङ्गोऽप्रदर्शने ॥ ३७ ॥
 धनवृद्धिं शुभां चैव । प्रीतिं कल्याणमेव च ।
 सुतार्थमर्थलाभं च । तुरंगमं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३८ ॥
 विवादं कलहं चैव । अर्थनाशं तथैव च ।
 निरर्थकं तथाकार्यं । उलूकेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ३९ ॥
 स्थानलाभो जयश्चैव । मित्रैः सह समागमं ।
 धन(रत्न)श्च लाभश्च । पर्वतेन प्रसादतः ॥ ४० ॥

द्रव्यनाशं भयं चेव । प्रवासं व्याधिमेव च ।
 अनिर्वृतिं कार्यस्य । व्याधिरत्र प्रदर्शने ॥ ४१ ॥
 राज्यलाभो भवत्येव । नित्यमैश्वर्यमेव च ।
 सर्वकार्यस्य संसिद्धिः । चामरेण प्रसादतः ॥ ४२ ॥
 अर्थलाभं यशोवृद्धिः । पुत्रदारसमागमः ।
 कीर्तिलाभं जयं चैव । राजहंसो प्रसादतः ॥ ४३ ॥^३
 गमनागमने क्षेमः । सांभ्राज्यं सुखमेव च ।
 अर्थलाभं जयं चैव । मत्स्ययुग्मं प्रसादतः ॥ ४६ ॥^४
 अर्थनाशमनिर्वाणं । वैरं व्याधिसमागमं ।
 शोकसंतापसंप्राप्तिः । शशकेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ४७ ॥
 अर्थलाभो जयश्चैव । बुद्धिसिद्धिः तथैव च ।
 आरोग्यं च शरीरस्य । गुरुडेन प्रसादतः ॥ ४८ ॥
 अर्थनाशं क्षयं चैव । दुर्लभं प्रियसमागमं ।
 न कार्यं स्यात् संसिद्धिः । छिन्नपादौ प्रदर्शने ॥ ४९ ॥
 सुभिक्षं क्षेममारोग्यं स्थानं प्रियं समागमः ।
 कार्यसिद्धिर्भव नूनं । कामधेन प्रसादतः ॥ ५० ॥
 अनारोग्यं प्रवासस्य । तथा कार्यविनाशनं ।
 विग्रहश्च भवे नूनं । नटदर्शनमात्रतः ॥ ५१ ॥
 आरोग्यं च प्रमोदं च । मित्रैः सह समागमः ।
 अर्थलाभं ध्रुवं चैव । सवत्सा गौ प्रसादतः ॥ ५२ ॥
 स्थानभ्रंशमनिर्वाणं । अर्थनाशं तथैव च ।
 महारौद्रं भयं चैव । व्याघ्ररूपं प्रदर्शने ॥ ५३ ॥
 स्थानलाभं जयं चैव । पुत्रलाभं तथैव च ।
 गतस्यागमनं शीघ्रं । सारसेन प्रसादतः ॥ ५४ ॥

3. Verse No. 43 dealing with कालपाश and with a picture of राजहंस is missing.

4. Verse No. 45 dealing with शोकपुंसा and the picture of मत्स्ययुग्म are missing.

5. In the margin the picture is named as नटानु.

आरोग्यं च प्रमोदं च । मित्रैः सह समागमः ।
 महतीं चार्थसंपत्तिं । प्रासादेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ५६ ॥⁶
 अकल्याणं भयं शोकं । कार्यारंभमनर्थकं ।
 मातृपित्रोर्वियोगं च । शुष्कवृक्षो प्रदर्शने ॥ ५७ ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । स्थानलाभं महोन्नतिं ।
 नित्यं वृद्धिं विजानीयात् । शक्तिदेव्या प्रसादतः ॥ ५८ ॥
 ध्रुवं मृत्युमनारोग्यं । व्याधिं व्यसनपीडनं ।
 भयं दुःखं च शोकं च । त्रिसूलेन⁷ प्रदर्शने ॥ ५९ ॥
 विजयः सर्वकार्येषु । राजपूजा समागमः ।
 सर्वकार्यस्य संसिद्धिं । वेडीरूपं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ६० ॥
 क्षुत्पिपासा भयं चैव । तथा कार्यविनाशनम् ।
 अनिर्वृत्तिरनारोग्यं । कलुषेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ६१ ॥
 आनन्दं च प्रमोदं च । स्थानमानसमागमः ।
 पुत्रलाभो जयश्चैव । मुनिरूपं प्रसादतः ॥ ६२ ॥
 वधबंधं परिक्लेशो । द्रव्यहानिस्तथैव च ।
 महादुःखं च शोकं च । योगीरूपं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ६३ ॥
 धनवृद्धिं तथारोग्यं । क्षेत्रवृद्धिं तथोत्तमा ।
 धर्मार्थकामसंपत्तिः । सारंगेन प्रसादतः ॥ ६४ ॥
 व्याधिव्यसनसंतापः । पराभूतिः पदे पदे ।
 नित्यं चैव भवे दुःखं । दुर्हरेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ६५ ॥
 सफला कार्यं निष्पत्तिः । चिंतितं सफलं भवे ।
 सर्वकामार्थसंपत्तिः । आंबवृक्षं⁸ विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ६६ ॥
 अकल्याणं तथा शोकः । सर्वकार्यं च निःफलः ।
 अर्थनाशश्च रोगश्च । स्पर्परूपं प्रदर्शने ॥ ६७ ॥
 स्त्रीलाभश्चार्थलाभश्च । सौभाग्यं संपदस्तथा
 भवन्ति सर्वकार्याणि दर्पणेन प्रसादतः ॥ ६८ ॥

6. Verse No. 55, dealing with मूखक and with a picture of प्रासाद are missing.

7. In the margin the picture is named as त्रिसूल.

8. In the margin the picture is named आंबउ.

स्थानभ्रंशमनिर्वाणं । शोकं संतापमेव च ।
 महाघोरं भयं चैव । जराजीर्णो प्रदर्शने ॥ ६९ ॥
 सौभाग्य अर्थलाभश्च । तथा बंधुसमागमं ।
 सर्वकल्या(ण) संग्रासि । निधानेन प्रसादतः ॥ ७० ॥
 वधबंधं परिहृश । अर्थनाशं तथैव च ।
 नित्यं शोकमनारोग्यं । वेताल्लेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ७१ ॥
 आनंदं च प्रमोदं च । स्थानमानसमागमं ।
 सुभिक्षं च तथा क्षेमं । राजानेन प्रसादतः ॥ ७२ ॥
 सदाविघ्नमनिर्वाणः प्रारंभश्चानिरर्थक ।
 विनाशो विग्रहं चैव । मा(जां)रिन विनिदद् ॥ ७३ ॥
 कल्याणं मंगलं भद्रं । राजपूजा समागमं
 मनसश्च परा तुष्टिं । तोरणेन विनिः ॥ ७४ ॥
 आरोग्यं च प्रमोदं च । रोगशोकविनाशनं ।
 धर्मार्थकामसंपत्तिः । सागरेन प्रसादतः ॥ ७५ ॥^१
 सुभिक्षां क्षेममारोग्यं । सस्यसंपदमेव च ।
 धनस्यागमनं चैव । पद्मिनीखंडं प्रसादतः ॥ ७६ ॥
 मरणं शोकसंताप । अर्थनाशं तथैव च ।
 परिशोकं शरीरस्य । मकरोत्र प्रदर्शने ॥ ७७ ॥
 राज्यं राज्याधिपत्यं च । बुद्धिसिद्धिसमागमं ।
 संपत्तिः सर्वसौख्यानां । अंकुशेन प्रसादतः ॥ ७८ ॥
 वधबंधं भयं घोरं । मरणं शोकमेव च ।
 परिहृशं शरीरस्य । कुर्कटेन प्रदर्शने ॥ ७९ ॥
 बह्वी सस्यसमृद्धिः स्यत् । स्थानमानं तथैव च ।
 धनधान्यार्थसंपत्तिः । धनद्वयं प्रसादतः ॥ ८० ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । राजपूजा समाग —
 प्रसि ॥ द्वि सर्वकार्येषु शरभो रूपे विन् ८१ ॥

9. Verse No. 75, dealing with शूकर and with a picture of सागर is missing. Folios Nos. 78 to 84 are wanting. From the picture on 77 verse on folio No. 78 deals with 'रीछ' and the picture for the verse No. 84 is पद्मिनीखंड as it is evident from the verse above.

कामार्थधर्मसंपत्ति विभूतिश्च सविस्तरा
 (दि)रंभवित्तथा सौख्यं वासुदेवं विनिद्स ... ॥ ९० ¹⁰
 दारिद्र्यं व्यसनं चैव शोकं संतापमेव च ।
 नितस्याक्षयो चैव पिंगलोयं विनद्सि ... ॥ ९३ ॥
 सर्वकार्येभ्य संसेद्धिं तुष्टिं पुष्टिं तथैव च
 कल्याणं मंगलं वै च । स्त्रेतपक्ष्मन विनद्सि ॥ ९४ ॥

There is one folio which remains un-identified as to its number. It has the following verse on one side :

अर्थनाशमनिर्वाण कलहं मित्रविग्रहं
 महत्तरं (तथा) × × दुःखं । फुडको × × ...

The crosses indicate the letters lost on account of the portion eaten by worms. On the other side there is a picture called ' नागपाश ' and the number given is in all probability 80. The manuscript has neither the beginning nor the end. It is incomplete.

(B) TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT H.

.....

धनलाभो जयो वृद्धी ॥ × रोग्यं परपरमामति ॥ ×
 षट्प कल्याणं । यशो × × वलोकनात् ॥ १४ ॥ ¹
 अर्थनाशो रतिश्चैव हृदि संतापमेव च ॥
 तथा चांतपरीक्षेश । गर्भभस्य विलोकनात् ॥ १५ ॥
 शत्रुणां विजयो नित्यं । सर्वसिद्धिपराक्रम ॥
 प्रौढता च परा लोके सिंहुरूप विलोकनात् ॥ १६ ॥
 राजद्वारे गृहे चापि । संवादः सततं भवेत् ॥
 वधो बंधस्तथा ह्लेश शृंगालेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ १७ ॥
 सिरस्छानं सदासौख्यं । वस्त्रलाभश्चयोत्तमः
 वांछितार्थसंप्राप्तिविमानरूप विलोकनात् ॥ १८ ॥

10. Folio Nos. 92, 93 are missing. Verse No. 91 appears to be dealing with कपोत while the picture on 93 is that of पिंगल.

1. The picture being on the preceding page is lost.

क्षुब्धं शोकसन्ताप कार्यविघ्नं प्रजाये ॥
 आयासू कलहो चैव श्वानरूपं विलोकनात् ॥ १९ ॥
 विजय सर्वकार्याणि श्रुहृदसंगम एव च ॥
 सुसप्राप्ति सदा चैन पद्माकासारदर्शनात् ॥ २० ॥
 आयासो मित्रभेदश्च तथा कार्यविनासनं
 विवादो विग्रहोश्चैव । नकुलेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २१ ॥
 आरोग्यं च प्रमोदं च । धनधान्यसमागमः ॥
 अभिवाञ्छित सत्सीद्धिः पुस्तकेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २२ ॥
 संतापः कलहः शोक प्रदेशगमनस्तथा ।
 अर्थनासो मनस्तापो । वडवानलदर्शनात् ॥ २३ ॥
 निफलं वाञ्छितं सर्वं । विरागश्च पराभवः ।
 जाग्रते च परा पीडा । मुद्गरश्च विलोकनात् ॥ २४ ॥
 कामो भोगो भवेन्नित्यं विलासश्च तथैव च ॥
 आरोग्यं चैव लाभं च दृष्ट्वा सौभाग्यसुन्दरी ॥ २५ ॥
 राजप्रसादसंप्राप्ति । धनधान्यसमागमः ॥
 जायते विजयो नित्यं राजकुंजरदर्शनात् ॥ २६ ॥
 आयासश्च बहुक्लेशो वियोग चार्थनाशनं
 मरणं कलहश्चैव । महिषरूपविलोकनात् ॥ २७ ॥
 अभिष्टं चिन्तितं कार्यं रथस्तुष्टि प्रजायते ।
 मनस्तुष्टिः प्रथं सर्वं । लक्ष्मीरूपप्रदर्शनात् ॥ २८ ॥
 आगमो दृश्यतोर्यस्य शुभ सौभाग्यमेव च ॥
 पुत्रलाभश्च स्तथा सौख्यं ध्रुवामादित्यदर्शनात् ॥ २९ ॥
 सवार्थसिद्धिरनुलां पुत्रजन्ममहोत्सवं ॥
 मनोरथस्य संप्राप्ति ॥ कल्पवृक्षविलोकनात् ॥ ३० ॥
 अर्थलाभो ध्रुवं चैव सौभाग्यं सर्वसंपदः ।
 सफलं चिन्तितं कार्यं दाधिभाण्डेन निर्द्देशते ॥ ३१ ॥
 आनन्दं च प्रमोदं च । वाञ्छितार्थस्य सिद्धयः
 निविर्ग्रहां जायते सर्वं । नन्दावर्त्तेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३२ ॥
 मित्रलाभो मनस्तुष्टिर्विभवश्च पराक्रमः ॥
 वाञ्छितार्थसंसीद्धि । चाजुकेन व दर्शनात् ॥ ३३ ॥

सौभाग्यं संपदो भौमा सुहृदा संगमस्तथा ।
 वांछितार्थस्य संप्राप्तिं श्रुकराजविलोकनात् ॥ ३४ ॥
 शत्रुणां मनस्तापो । मित्राणां मुदयस्तथा ।
 वांछितार्थस्य संसिद्धिं सस्त्रानां विलोकनात् ॥ ३५ ॥
 महतीं स्थानं संप्राप्तिं । रैश्वर्यं सुपमेव च ॥
 अर्थलाभो जयोश्चैव ॥ वृषभेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ३६ ॥
 आयातो वित्तनाशश्च । कार्यहानि पराभव ॥
 दशत्यागो मनस्तापो । उष्ट्ररूपेन दिक्षेत् ॥ ३७ ॥
 अर्थनाशो मनस्तापो व्याधिक्लेशश्च सर्वदा
 राहुगृस्तेन चंद्रेण ॥ कार्यहानिर्न संसय ॥ ३८ ॥
 विद्याविभवसंप्राप्तिं पुत्रपौत्रसमागम ॥
 वांछितं च भवेत्सर्वं व्यवहारीविलोकनात् ॥ ३९ ॥
 प्रीतिसौभाग्यमैश्वर्यमिष्टबंधुसमागमं ॥
 रूपलावण्यसंपन्नो । मोररूपविलोकनात् ॥ ४० ॥
 बंधनं कलहोद्वेगो मृत्युः ॥ सोकस्तथाधिक —
 कार्यारंभे च नो सिद्धिः । भग्नछत्रविलोकनात् ॥ ४१ ॥
 स्थानलाभो जयो श्रुद्धिः । शत्रुनाशपरा धृतिः
 सर्वार्थसिद्धिरनुलाः । नुरंगमविलोकनात् ॥ ४२ ॥
 व्याधिर्बन्धुविरोधश्च । सौख्यं च मनसौधिकं ॥
 अनिष्टं च महाघोरं ॥ उल्लुकस्य विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
 सुहृद्वर्गस्य संतापो पीडा देहेति दुस्तरा
 अनर्थश्च मनःपीडा अधःपतनात् विलोकनात् ॥ ४४ ॥
 राजपूजा च सन्मानं मनसस्तु परा धृतिः ॥
 समाहित समृद्धिश्च श्रामरयुग्मेन विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ४५ ॥
 विमिश्रत्वं भयं चैव : तथा मृत्युर्भयावह
 संपद्यते विपत्तिश्च सर्पयुग्मविलोकनात् ॥ ४६ ॥
 उदयो रिपुध्वंसो लाभः समधिकस्तथा
 पुत्रपौत्रादिवृद्धिश्च राजहंसविलोकनात् ॥ ४७ ॥
 प्राणिनामंगपीडाश्च द्रव्यहानिः पराभवः ॥
 सर्ववित्तार्थं विनाशश्च ग्रीफर्पणीविलोकनात् ॥ ४८ ॥

अर्थलाभो तथारोग्यं राजसन्मानमेव चः
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु युधिष्ठिरविलोकनात् ॥ ४९ ॥
 उदयश्च पुत्रलाभं च । कलघ्राणं परमं तथा ।
 ज्ञेया सर्वार्थसंप्राप्ति । मत्स्यगुग्मविलोकनात् ॥ ५० ॥
 कार्यहानिर्विजानीयात् प्राप्तिश्चैव विनश्यति
 परमापदमाप्नोति शस्त्रकस्य अवलोकनात् ॥ ५१ ॥
 धनहानिर्वपुःक्लेश । कुटुंबकलहस्तथा ॥
 अन्यायश्च महातृष्णा कुष्टिरप्यविलोकनात् ॥ ५२ ॥
 अर्थलाभो जयश्चैव चमसं नः संनुष्टिन् वचः
 तथारोग शरीरस्य गरुडस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ५३ ॥
 धनलाभो मित्रलाभश्च । आरोग्यं मंगलं तथा ॥
 चिंतितं सफलं च स्यात् कामधेनुविलोकनात् ॥ ५४ ॥
 स्थानलाभो जयोश्चैव ॥ अर्थलाभ तथैव च ॥
 नरेंद्रभवते मानं । स्वच्छेन विलोकनात् ॥ ५५ ॥
 कलहो मानंसी पीडा । विम्नमश्च पुनः पुनः
 दुःखमर्थविनाशं च नटरूपविलोकनात् ॥ ५६ ॥
 राजद्वारे गृहे चापि । संवाद सत्तमे भवेत् ॥
 बधूबंध तथा क्लेशः भांडकेन विलोकनात् ॥ ५७ ॥
 अनर्थः कलहं होयाति ॥ बंधूभिर्धनसंक्षयः
 वांछितार्थविनाशश्च । भग्नयानविलोकनात् ॥ ५८ ॥
 आरोग्यं च प्रमोदः च । धनधान्यं समागमः ।
 अभिवांछितसंसिद्धि । रुद्ररूपेण दर्शनात् ॥ ५९ ॥

No. 60 is cut off.

धनहानि विश्रुक्लेश विवादो सुजनी सह ॥
 शरीरे शोकसंतापो काष्ठभेदं विलोकनात् ॥ ६१ ॥
 अर्थलाभो तथा सौख्यं राजसन्मानमेव च ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु । नारदेन विलोकनात् ॥ ६२ ॥
 सर्वकार्यविनाशश्च वियोगकलहस्तथा ।
 हृदशोकसंतापो दरीद्रेण विलोकनात् ॥ ६३ ॥

कार्यसिद्धिः सदा सौख्यं चितितं सफलं भवेत् ॥
 पुत्रपुत्राश्च वृद्धिश्च दामयुग्मविलोकनात् ॥ ६२ ॥²
 उदयो रिपुनाशश्च आरोग्यं च सदा भवेत् ॥
 पुत्रपौत्रादिवृद्धिश्च मंगलस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ६३ ॥²
 धनहानि विश्रुक्लेश । चितितं सफलं च न ।
 मरणं शोक्तार्पं च सेहलस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ६४ ॥
 बुद्धिः वृद्धिः सदा सौख्यं आरोग्यश्च धनं भवेत् ॥
 चितितं कार्यं सिद्धं स्यात् बुधरूपविलोकनात् ॥ ६५ ॥
 शुभं भोग्यं तथा शौख्यं आरोग्यं गेहसंपदं
 पुत्रपौत्रादिवृद्धिश्च बृहस्पतिविलोकनात् ॥ ६६ ॥
 अर्थलाभः ग्रहे सौख्यं राजसन्मानमेव च
 प्रियागमो भवेत्क्षिप्रं । अश्वरूपविलोकनात् ॥ ६७ ॥
 उदयो रिपुध्वंसोश्च समर्थिक तथा सुष
 पुत्रपौत्रादिवृद्धिश्च शुकूरूपविलोकनात् ॥ ६८ ॥
 आशा विफलतां याति कलहः स्वजने सह ।
 अनर्थो जायते घोर शुकवृक्षविलोकनात् ॥ ६९ ॥
 कन्यालाभो जयश्चैव मंगल्यं च समंततः
 जायते च महावृद्धीः राजमंदीरविलोकनात् ॥ ७० ॥
 भुवं मित्युमनारोग्यं व्याधिव्यसनसंयुतां
 दुःखमयं भवेन्नित्यं त्रिशूलस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ७१ ॥
 चलचित्तं चलस्थानं दुःखं परमदारुणं ॥
 प्रकृष्टो हृदसंतापो भ्रमकरस्याविलोकनात् ॥ ७२ ॥
 पुण्यसंभारसंप्राप्तिः । प्रमोदः स्वजनेर्धर्मः ।
 सर्वकार्याणि सिध्यन्ति । यानकेन विलोकनात् ॥ ७३ ॥
 बधू(द्व्यो)गो वपुः क्लेशो धनभ्रंशो यशः क्षयः
 विपरीतं भवे क्षिप्रं भिक्षुरूपेन विलोकनात् ॥ ७४ ॥
 कलहो बंधनं चैव पुत्रः दुष्मनर्थकं
 अर्थनासो मनस्तापो ॥ भर्तृकेन विलोकनात् ॥ ७५ ॥

2. Nos. repeated twice. They should really be 64 and 65.

3. The picture opposite is that of a tortoise rather than that of a crocodile.

विछेदश्च भवेद्बन्धोर्दुस्तरं जीवीतं तथा ॥
 पुत्रमित्रविनाशश्च जायते संवरदर्शनात् ॥ ७६ ॥
 धनहानिवपुःक्लेशा शत्रुद्रो गो गृहारति ॥
 वाञ्छितार्थविनाशश्च मूषकस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ७७ ॥
 आधिव्याधीः समं दुःखं कलह जनै सहः
 वाञ्छितार्थविघातस्या सुक्लसरो विलोकनात् ॥ ७८ ॥
 धनधान्यसमृद्धिश्च देहनीरोगताधिका
 वाञ्छितार्थस्य ससिद्धिः सफलवृक्षविलोकनात् ॥ ७९ ॥
 धनहानिश्रुक्लेशः । विवादो बन्धनं क्षयं ।
 शरीरे शोकसंतापो ॥ गोणसर्पविलोकनात् ॥ ८० ॥
 कलहः कार्यनाशस्य त्संतो मनसि व्यथा ।
 अनर्थस्थ महाघोर बिडालस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ८१ ॥
 राजपूजा च संतापो धनलाभसमागमः ॥
 जायते कार्यसंसिद्धिः श्वारुतोरणविलोकनात् ॥ ८२ ॥
 कामनी सौख्यमत्यंतं लाभश्च प्रश्नस्तथा ॥
 जायते कार्यसंसिद्धिः ॥ 'रादिराह' दर्शनात् ॥ ८३ ॥
 क्लेशो व्याधिरसौख्यं च संतापश्च मज्जयं ।
 कार्यारम्भविनाशश्च ॥ क्रंलुरूपविलोकनात् ॥ ८४ ॥
 विद्वद्भिः सह संयोगो मनोवृत्तिः सदा क्षमः
 अरणं द्रव्यसंप्राप्तिः पद्मविलोकनात् ॥ ८५ ॥
 कलहं कुलजः सार्द्धं विदेशगमनं स्तथा ॥
 वाञ्छितार्थं विनाशं च ॥ पुल्लिद्रेण विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ८६ ॥
 अनर्थः कलहः कष्टं धनधान्यक्षयोऽधिक
 हृष्टलोकवियोगश्च नागपाशेन विनीहिशेत् ॥ ८७ ॥
 अर्थलाभो जयश्चैव धनधान्यसमागमः
 सर्वसौख्यसमायोग्य गणेशस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ८८ ॥
 अष्टतिशोकसंतापो व्याधिसपागमो भवेत् ॥
 अर्थनासो मनःपीडाः सर्पिः चानकदर्शनात् ॥ ८९ ॥

4. 'आदिवराह' is meant. The picture opposite is that of the 'Bear' which refers to the following page where however the picture of the Bear is given.

मित्रसंयोगात्सद्विश्च द्रव्यलाभो मनोधृति ।
 मंथलां च संग्राप्ति पूर्णचन्द्रविलोकनात् ॥ ९० ॥
 कलहो मानसी पीडा विभ्रमश्च पुनः पुः
 दुःखमर्थविनासं च ॥ शोकस्त्रीविलोकनात् ॥ ९१ ॥
 विजयं सर्वकार्येषु सुहृत्संगम एव च ।
 भ्रुषप्राप्तिः सदा चैव पद्मकासारदर्शनात् ॥ ९२ ॥
 महाभयं महाशोकं हानिपीडा प्रजायते
 रौद्रकपटसंबन्धं चित्रकस्य विलोकनात् ॥ ९३ ॥⁵

APPENDIX II

A LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN MSS. G AND H.

Serial No.	Folio No.	Name or Title in Ms. G.	Corresponding picture against verse No. in H.	Remarks.
1	5	Mṛtaka	*	The picture has become very faint and only a dead-body at the top could be recognised.
2	6	Dhwaja	*	A flag staff with a three-armed banner.
3	7	Vānara	*	The monkey is shown to have a red face.
4	8	Pūrṇa-kumbha	*	A decorated water-vessel of baked earthenware type.
5	9	Vāyasa		A black crow perched on a branch.
6	10	Chatra		A Royal umbrella with stiff pendants to a flat top and a cloth tied in the middle of the staff handle.
7	11	Rāsabha	15	It is named 'Gardhabha' in H. The picture is more realistic in pen and ink in G.
8	12	Simha	* 16	The lion is shown to have a trunk in G. In H it has the body of a tiger and the head of the elephant with a tusk and broad flat ears.
9	13	Jambūka	17	A jackal, named Śṛṅgāla in A.
10	14	*Vimāna	* 18	A kind of an air-palace. In H it is shown to be a three-storeyed building. Influence of Muslim architecture.
11	15	Śvāna	19	A dog. A hunting dog in H.
12	16	Padma		A Lotus-very crude drawing.
13	17	Nakula	21	A mongoose—not at all realistic. In H it is shown to be like a dog passing through a valley.

5. At the end is a picture of the 'अंकुश'.

Serial No.	Folio No.	Name or Title in Ms. G.	Corresponding picture against verse No. in H.	Remarks.
14	18	Pustaka	22	A manuscript (Pothi, rectangular in form, placed on a wooden rest used by the Purāṇikas in olden times and which is still to be met with occasionally.
15	19	Agni	23	Fire probably kept in an earthen pot with a broad mouth. Described as. 'Vaḍavānala' in H. A huge pot with red flames !
16	20	*Dharma-cakra		Differs from the Aśokacakra.
17	21	*Vṛddha-kanyā		An Old Maid. Possibly she has specks. Seems to be particularly fond of ornaments. Uses a stick to support herself.
18	22	Hasti	*	An Elephant with all its trappings. In H it is Rājakuñjara with Ambārī and a Muslim Māhuta.
19	23	Mahisa	27	A Buffalo. Not bad in both.
20	24	Vṛṣabha	36	A Bull. In H it looks like a cow.
21	25	Karabha		Looks like a camel.
22	26	Vyavahārī	39	A business man. From his dress, esp. pugree and features, he looks like a Gujarati. In H. he has a crown which is out of place.
23	27	Rāhu	* 38	With a beard facing the crescent moon. It is Rāhugrasta Candra in H.
24	28	Lakṣmī	28	The Goddess of Wealth seated, with two white lotuses in her hands. In H the lotuses are red but, the picture is well-drawn.
25	29	Vṛścika		The Scorpion—well drawn but has become faint.
26	30	Phalī-vṛkṣa	30	A fruit-bearing tree. In H we have a 'Kalpa-vṛkṣa' with two peacocks perched on either side.
27	31	Rikta-kumbha		An empty water jar.
28	32	Nandāvarta	32	A swastika-like figure sacred to the Jains.
29	33	Tulā	33	A scale with two pans. In H it is named Trājuka.
30	34	Śuka	34	A Parrot of the 'kāka-kuvā' variety. In H it is beautifully drawn.
31	35	Khaḍga		A broad blade sword with a kind of sheath-like covering.
32	36	Mayūra	40	A peacock—named Mora in both.
33	37	Chatra-bhaṅga*	41	A broken royal umbrella. Better drawn in H.

Serial No.	Folio No.	Name or Title in Ms. G.	Corresponding picture against verse No. in H.	Remarks.
34	38	Turaṅgama	67	A white horse with trappings. It is beautifully (69?) drawn in H. Under 42 we have a horse with a also 42 rider but the title is the same as in G.
35	39	Ulūka	43	An owl. The picture in Ms. H is more neatly drawn.
36	40	Parvata		A mountain—drawn as in old Persian paintings.
37	41	*Vyādha	*86	A Hunter—peculiarly enough he uses his left hand (88?) in shooting the arrow, a very common characteristic among the Gujaratis which leaves no doubt of its Jain origin. 'Pulindra' in H. answers the same description but he is better drawn.
38	42	Cāmara	45	A fly-warder—quite an ordinary one.
39	43	Kālapāśa	87	Two snakes encircling each other. In H. there is (89?) only one black cobra in coils and is called 'Nāga-pāśa.'
40	45	Śoka-puṁsā	*91	A man in mourning—peculiar Gujarati features. H (93?) has 'Śokastrī'. A Rajput style of painting. The ornaments are out of place. No visible sign of sorrow.
41	47	Śāśaka	51	Not properly drawn in either. Looks like a dog.
42	48	Garuḍa	53	The Eagle-in-chief. In H he has a crown and 2 huge wings just as we see in temples but without the aquiline nose.
43	49	Chinnapāda		A man with broken legs.
44	50	Kāmadhenu.	54	Wish-granting celestial cow. Neatly drawn both in G and H.
45	51	Neṭa	56	An actor—'Neṭāvu'—in a dancing posture. In H he looks like a 'Vidūṣaka'.
46	52	Savat-sāgau	55	A cow with her calf—well drawn in both.
47	53	Vyāghra	93	It is in fact a leopard. H has 'Citraka' a Sanskrit (95?) name for 'Cittā' in Marathi.
48	54	Sārasa.		A white crane.
49	55	Mūṣaka	77	A rat making off a sweet ball in G. In H it is (79?) running through flowering plants.
50	57	Śuska-vṛkṣa	69	A withered tree—Two birds perched on the branches (71?) and a black serpent attacking the birds. The same in H but there are two serpents instead of one.
51	58	Śakti		A spear wrapped in the middle with a piece of cloth.

Serial No.	Folio No.	Name or Title in Ms. G.	Corresponding picture against verse No. in H.	Remarks.
52	59	Trisūla	71	A spear with three piercing points. The pictures (73?) of two flowering plants on each side of it in H are out of place.
53	60*	Beḍi* or Yānaka (H)		A kind of a small boat with covering worked with sails (?). In H it has three decks and is beautifully drawn.
54	61	Kacchapa		A tortoise.
55	62	Muni		A religious mendicant with a begging bowl, a flowing gown and a staff.
56	63	Yogī*	74	Probably a Kānpḥāṭā Yogī with a skull-cap. H (76?) has a 'Bhikṣu'.
57	64	Sāraṅga*	76	Beautifully drawn. H has a stag which is beautifully (78?) drawn.
58	65	Dardura		A frog—realistic picture.
59	66	Āmra (Āmbaū)		A mango tree—conventional and properly drawn. In H there is 'Saphalavṛkṣa'.
60	67	Sarpa	80	A Black Cobra. Named 'Ghoṇasarppa' in H; also (82?) 'Sarpayugma' (46).
61	68	Darpaṇa		A circular shaped mirror with brass frame and ornamental rest.
62	69	Jarājīrṇa		The picture does not show a decrepit old man. Seems to be stout though he has a stick in hand. He has a black beard and his hair is also black.
63	70	Nidhāna		Nine jars, containing jewels, put in three rows of three jars each, as in a cupboard.
64	71	Vetāla		The King of the Ghosts is shown in a dancing posture with a black cobra in both the hands.
65	72	Rājā		A King with a pugree instead of a crown, with earrings and arm-bands in a sitting posture.
66	73	Mārjāra	81	The cat is conventional, not realistic. 'Bīḍāla' (83?) in H.
67	74	Sutoraṇa*	82	Door hangings. Poorly represented. In H it is (84?) named 'Cārutoraṇa' and is beautifully drawn.
68	75	Sūkara		A wild boar is meant but the drawing is more or less conventional.
69	77	Rkṣa	84	A Bear—conventional. A regular black bear in H. (86?)
70	80	Nāgapāśa		Two Cobras of the yellow variety encircling each other.
71	85	Makara	72	Does not represent a Crocodile. In H. it is just (74?) like a tortoise.

Serial No.	Folio No.	Name or Title in Ms. G.	Corresponding picture against verse No. in H.	Remarks.
72	86	Añkuśa	93	A goad for the elephant with three points. In H (back) there is only one. It is better drawn. (95?)
73	87	Kukkuṭa		The Cock is well drawn.
74	88	Dhanada		The God of Wealth is simply represented with a pugree on, a prototype of the king.
75	89	Śarabha		It is difficult to identify the animal from the picture.
76	90	Vāsudeva		Just like Dhanada with the only difference that he has four hands but not bearing the customary weapons.
77	91	Kapota.		The pigeon not badly drawn.
78	94	Śwetapakṣa		A huge Crane. Looks like an ostrich.
79	95	Digaṃbāra		A faint figure of a naked man is visible with difficulty.

ADDITIONAL PICTURES IN H

Serial No.	Verse No. in H.	Name or title.	Remarks.
80	88 (90?)	Gaṇeśa*	Represented with four hands, eating sweet balls with his trunk. One hand holds the plate, the other the axe and the remaining two hold nothing.
81	83 (85?)	Ādivarāha	Looks more like a buffalo except that it has a tusk upwards.
82	62	Nārada	A Rajput style of painting; shown with a <i>vīṇā</i> having two gourds one at each end.
83	49	Yudhi- ṣṭhira	Looks like a noble prince.
84	25	Saubhāgya- sundarī	Rajput style—A lady with a lotus but no ornaments.
85	29	Āditya.	Human head with ear-rings and a double row of arrow heads around—conventional.
86	90 (92?)	Pūrṇa- candra	A full Moon with a deer emblem in between against a blue starred background.
87	60 (65?)	Maṅgala	A figure with crown with a drinking vessel, red garments, and a green belt of cloth.

Serial No.	Verse No. in H.	Name or title.	Remarks.
88	65 (67?)	Budha*	Well-drawn. The same as above but is shown seated on a low square stool.
89	66 (68?)	Br̥haspati.	Seated on a wooden plank and drinking 'Soma' juice or Amṛta.
90	68 (70?)	Śukra.	Well-drawn.
91	59	Rudra.	With all the conventional paraphernalia.
92	75 (77?)	Bharḍaka.	Supposed to be a Śaivaite mendicant with a flowing gown, triśūla, begging bowl and a dog.
93	63	Daridra	This 'Daridra' also has a flowing gown, earrings, necklaces, and a Mugal style turban—!
94	52	Kuṣṭi.	The picture is that of a way-farer in Rajput style but does not show any traces of white leprosy.
95	44	Adhaḥ-patana.	Falling of a man—naked—upside down in the midst of two precipices.
96	61	Kāṣṭabhe-dana.	Piercing to death a man by a Śūla.
97	70 (72?)	Rajaman-dira.	A two-storeyed ornamental building—Rajput-Mugal style.
98	31	Dadhi-bhāṇḍa.	A huge round pitcher on wooden rests.
99	57	Bhāṇḍaka.	A man with a round but long wooden piece.
100	58	Bhagna-yāna*	Only the flag-shaft of the ship is broken,
101	92 (94?)	Padmakā-sāra.	A hexagonal lake but no lotuses.
102	20	Padmakā-sāra.	Lotuses growing in the lake near a series of steps on both the sides.
103	78 (80)	Śuśkasaraḥ.	A cross-like rectangular lake with a hare running for water. Though the lake is dry but still there is a green vegetation round about.
104	35	Śastra.	Weapons—Bow, arrow, shield, sword and a small sheathed dagger.
105	24	Mudgara.	A Club—two flower-plants are out of place here.
106	62 (64?)	Dāma-yugma.	A pair of garlands.
107	50	Matsya-yugma*	A pair of fish.
108	64 (66)	Sehala (?)	Looks like a tortoise, flying from one precipice to another.
109	37	Uṣṭra*	A camel with its trappings, seated.

Serial No.	Verse No. in H.	Name or title.	Remarks.
110	85 (87)	Aṣṭāpada (?)*	A lion-like animal killing four elephants by its four feet, one eating whole, one held in the trunk and one fastened by its long tail. It seems to have wings.
111	48	Grīṣa- pañkhī ?	A kind of a vulture holding in its beak a human skull.
112	89 (91)	Siñcānaka.	A hawk (?) with a flowering plant for ornamentation, perched on a T-shaped pillar.
113	47	Rājahaṁsa*	The Royal Swan—neatly drawn.

NOTE—The identity of picture does not always represent the identity of the resulting fruit as will be seen from the respective passages in both the MSS.

THE LĪLĀVATĪVĪTHI OF RĀMAPĀNIVĀDA

BY SHRI VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

Introduction

Among the various types of Sanskrit drama, the *vīthi* has very few extant specimens, and whatever names of this type we know are mostly from references to them in our works on Poetics and Dramaturgy. Thus Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* mentions *Mālavikā*, Śaradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśana* mentions *Bakulavīthi* and *Indulekhā*, and Śiṅgabhūpāla's *Rasārṇavasudhākara* mentions *Mādhavīvīthikā*. But to the credit of Kerala, her prolific writer Rāmapānivāda¹ has written two *vīthīs*—*Candrikā* and *Līlāvātī*, the first of which has² already been published. Manuscripts of both are available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

The Manuscript

The manuscript of *Līlāvātī* in the Trivandrum collection (No. COL. 958A) is in palmleaf and in Malayalam script and has about 200 *granthas*. It is complete and is legibly written.

It commences :

तत्पादपद्मयुगलं निरिक्कन्यकाया लोकातिशायिचरितं भवतः पुनातु ।

उल्लासयन्ति यदिदं मुहुरीश्वरस्य चूडानिशाकरकिशोरमयूखलेखाः ॥

(नान्द्यन्ते)

सूत्रधारः — आज्ञापितोऽस्मि निखिलशास्त्रपुराणनाटकप्रपञ्चसततपरिशील-
नविशदान्तरात्मनो नित्यसन्निधेदधम्बरधुनीनाथपरिचरणपारायणस्य
महाराजदेवनारायणस्य पादपद्मोपर्जाविना महीसुरसमाजेन यथा —

1. For an account of the life and works of Rāmapānivāda, vide my Introduction to *Mukundaśataka* in the *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Vol. II, No. 2 (July 1946).

2. *Candrikā* is published by Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti in the *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, Trichur (1934).

‘ भो रङ्गदीप !

अभिनवपदबन्धबन्धुरार्थमभिनय कामपि वीथिकामुदाराम् ।
शुचिरसमधुराणि या बिभर्ति प्रचुरविचित्रतराणि चेष्टितानि ॥ ’

इति ।

× × × × × ×

ननु तादृशविशिष्टगुणा लीलावती नाम वीथी मदधीनैव ।

नदी — (साकूतं) अय्य ! को एदाए कई ।

सूत्रधार : — श्रूयताम् । अस्ति मङ्गलग्रामवास्तव्यस्य राघवपाणिघस्य
भागिन्यो रामो नाम पाणिवादः ।

नदी — (सप्रत्यभिज्ञं) अय्य ! जाणामि जाणामि । जो पुराणमहीसुर-
वरिद्वस्स³ पियमित्तं त्ति सुणीअदि ।

सूत्रधार : — आर्ये ! अथ किम् । स किल कविः प्रबन्धोपक्रमे तावदित्य-
मभिहितवान् —

चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजचतुष्टयविहारिणि । ।

कविलोकाश्रिते देवि ! सरस्वति ! नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

किञ्च —

नित्यं नृत्यति यस्य नाम रसनारङ्गे स्वयं भारती

चित्ते यस्य तु भासते सुरधुनीनाथो रथाङ्गायुधः ।

यं भूयो बहुमन्यते नरपतिः श्रीदेवनारायणः

सोऽयं मे हृदये चकास्तु सततं भूदेवचूडामणिः ॥⁴

and ends :

राजा — सखे ! किमतः परं प्रियमस्ति । पश्य, तथा त्वया च

3. The expression *purāṇamahisuravarīṣṭha* seems to denote some Brahmin belonging to the Pazhedatthumana, one of the trustee families of the Śiva temple at Kīṭṭikkuriśśimaṅgalam in Malabar, the home of the author ; for the word *purāṇa* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Malayalam *pazhedam*.

4. The great Brahmin referred to in this śloka must be, as I have endeavoured to prove (vide Introduction to *Mukundaśataka*, pp. vii, xvii), the author's own Guru, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, who must have belonged to the family of Tekkedattu Bhaṭṭatiris, the hereditary preceptors and counselors of the rulers of Ampala puzha.

देवी मय्यनुकूलभावमधुरोदक मनो लम्बिता
 मह्यं सम्प्रति दापितेयमनया कर्णाटराजात्मजा ।
 ताम्राक्षो विनिपातितो ननु भवान् जागर्ति कृत्येषु मे
 सङ्क्रान्ता मयि चक्रवर्तिपदवी भूयः किमाशास्महे ॥

तथापीदमस्तु —

(भरतवाक्यम्)

काव्ये नव्यपुराणभेदगणनाहीना धियो धीमतां
 संगृह्णन्तु गुणानपूतपि तथा दोषानपाकुर्वताम् ।
 लोकानामवधूतमत्सरकथामैत्री तथोज्ज्वलभतां
 भक्तिर्नश्चिरमेधतां गुरुपदाम्भोजे जगन्मङ्गले ॥

(इति परिक्रम्य निष्क्रान्तौ ।)

लीलावती नाम वीथी सम्पूर्णा ।

शुभमस्तु ।

श्रीनारायणभट्टगुरुपादेभ्यो नमः ।

We are able to know from the introductory portion in the work that it was composed at Ampalapuzha (*Ambaradhunī*) in Travancore, and at the behest of the Brahmin subjects of the ruler of that principality, Devanārāyaṇa. It must have been written before 1750 A. D., the date of the annexation of Ampalapuzha to Travancore.

The Plot of the Play

The King of Karṇāṭa, fearing the abduction of his daughter Līlāvati by his enemies, places her under the care of Kalāvati, the queen of Virapāla, king of Kuntala. Kalāvati fears the possibility of the development of a love affair between Līlāvati and Virapāla, and so keeps her out of his sight. It, however, so happens that they meet and fall in love with each other. Vaihāsika, the boon companion of the king, comes to know this, and he arranges with a yoginī by name Siddhimatī to bring about their union by magical means.

Līlāvati, unable to bear the separation from Virapāla, sends a love message commencing with the verse—

राजहंस । मह पंकङ्गीए दंसिऊण खणमप्पविलासम् ।

सम्पत् पुण घणुकलिअं मे केवलं कुणसि जुत्तमिदं ते ॥⁵

with the signet of her ivory earring through her friend Keli-mālā, who meets Vaihāsika in the way and hands it over to him. Vaihāsika inadvertently places it in the garden, and it is picked up by Kandalikā, the attendant maid of the queen. He manages to get it back from her, and takes it to the king, who is immensely delighted to receive it. Kandalikā, however, carries the news to the queen, but before her feelings find verbal expression, the magical stratagem of Siddhimatī begins to work. A big cobra appears from somewhere and bites the queen, who thereby falls down senseless. The accident is reported to the king, who immediately swoons. Vaihāsika, who has been all along with him, now leaves him, and, being aware of the magical nature of the event, hastens to Siddhimatī to assist her in accomplishing the task. He puts on the dress of a snake-charmer, calls himself Bhadrāsiddhi and goes to the queen. At his very approach she revives, and offers him a present for saving her life. He declines to accept it, but tells her he would receive it in due time, and disappears under the pretext of feeding his serpents. Casting off his disguise he returns to the king, who has just then recovered from the shock, being told of the wonder done by Bhadrāsiddhi, and both of them proceed to the queen's apartment. The king expresses great joy at her recovery, but she disappoints him by asking Kandalikā to read out that letter, and refuses to be convinced of his innocence.

Siddhimatī's art works further. That night Kalāvati is made to see in a dream Lord Śiva who tells her that it was He who appeared in the guise of the snake-charmer to protect her, and as a reward for it she should arrange for the marriage of her husband Vīrapāla with Līlāvatī, as this alliance would elevate him to the position of an Emperor. Early in the

5. Chāyā :

राजहंस ! मम पङ्कजिन्या दर्शयित्वा क्षणमात्मविलासम् ।

सम्पत् पुनर्घनोत्कलिक्तां मे केवलं करोषि; युक्तमिदं ते ॥

morning Kalāvati sends for the king and narrates to him what she saw in the dream and requests him to take the hand of Līlāvati, to which he agrees with ostensible reluctance.

The marriage is arranged, and on the day of the marriage Līlāvati goes to worship in the temple accompanied by Kelimālā, but on the way she is caught by the demon Tāmrākṣa, the friend of the king of Kaliṅga, the enemy of her father. Vīrapāla hears this, engages Tāmrākṣa in a fight and kills him. The marriage then takes place in all pomp and splendour. In the end, Vaihāsika tells the king how it was the stratagem of Siddhimatī that accomplished their object.

Critical Observations

The author himself defines a *vīthī* in his *Candrikā* in the words :

पात्रद्वयप्रयोज्या भाणवदेकाङ्किका द्विसन्धिश्च ।

आकाशभाषितवती कृत्रिममितिवृत्तमाश्रिता वीथी ॥

That is, a *vīthī* is a drama having two characters,⁶ a single Act as in *bhāṇa*, two junctures—*mukha* and *nirvahaṇa*, an artificial plot and abounding in *ākāśabhāṣitas*. Rhetoricians generally add to its characteristics the *Śṛṅgārarasa* and *Kaiśikīvṛtti*. These characteristics are well exemplified in the *Līlāvati*.

The play has three divisions—Āmukha, Viṣkambhaka and the drama proper.

The Āmukha or the Introduction is in the form of a dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and the Naṭī, and speaks of the author Rāmapāṇivāda, his patron Devanārāyaṇa and his uncle Rāghavapāṇivāda. It indicates the period of the year to be the rainy season, and introduces the Vidūṣaka, Vaihāsika, who is the character in the Viṣkambhaka that follows.

The Viṣkambhaka or the Interlude is for the most part a dialogue between Vaihāsika and Kelimālā, the speeches of the latter being all *ākāśabhāṣitas*, and so uttered by Vaihāsika himself with the expression '*kim bhāṣasi*'. We understand

6. According to other authorities there may be one or three characters also.

from this scene the circumstances under which Līlāvati was entrusted to the care of Kalāvati and how in spite of her efforts to the contrary, Līlāvati and Virapāla have fallen in love with each other. We are also informed of Vaihāsika's arrangement with Siddhimatī for the accomplishment of their object.

In the drama proper the characters that appear on the stage are Virapāla and Vaihāsika. It has the following incidents :

(1) The King's expression of his unbearable pangs at separation from Līlāvati.

(2) Vaihāsika's arrival and his communication to the king of Līlāvati's deep love for him, and the king's behest that their union should be brought about without causing any offence to Kalāvati.

(3) Kandalikā's chance procurement of Līlāvati's letter and the conversation between her and Vaihāsika ending in her handing over the letter to him.

(4) The king's delight in reading the letter over and over again.

(5) The announcement by the Vaitālikas that the rainy season has set in, and their benediction of a happy time of it for him.

(6) The news of the queen being bitten by a cobra and the king's swoon at this.

(7) Vaihāsika's disguise as Bhadrasiddhi, the queen's revival and his disappearance.

(8) Vaihāsika's return to the king, the king's meeting with the queen and his disappointment.

(9) The queen's dream, her narration of it to the king and the arrangement for his marriage with Līlāvati.

(10) Tāmrākṣa's seizure of Līlāvati, the king's fight with him and the rescue of Līlāvati.

(11) Vaihāsika's disclosure to the king of the means by which he brought about his marriage with Līlāvati.

The cobra and the Tāmṛākṣa episodes and the marriage of Līlāvati are announced from behind the scenes. Neither Kalāvati nor Līlāvati appears on the stage, nor any of their maids. The speeches of Kalāvati and Kandalikā are behind the scenes. They are directly heard from there and not uttered by either of the characters on the stage with the interrogation ' *kim bhaṇasi* '.

The language is, as usual, Sanskrit for the king and Prākṛt for the other characters. But in accordance with the intensity of their feeling and the gravity of the matter they speak, the other characters also occasionally speak in Sanskrit. Thus even in the Viṣkambhaka the Vidūṣaka and Kelimālā adopt Sanskrit to describe the love-stricken condition of Virapāla and Līlāvati. Of the three verses constituting Līlāvati's letter one is in Sanskrit. The queen's account of the dream is also in Sanskrit. So are all the announcements from behind the scenes.

The two sandhis, *Mukha* and *Nirohāṇa*, are well observed and all their details carefully represented, but without creating in the least the impression that they are included simply for the sake of conformity to convention.

The dominant sentiment is *śṛṅgāra*, and the author has bestowed particular attention in its delineation. But in keeping with the canon that other rasas also may be touched upon,⁷ he has also depicted as subordinates (*aṅgas*) *adbhuta*, *bhayānaka*, *vīra* and *hāsyā*, *adbhuta* being the chief among them.

Quite in keeping with the sentiment of the play, the author has chosen a very elegant style. One of the striking features of the play is the lucidity and the directness of the expressions. The descriptions, especially of the rainy season and of the condition of the separated lovers, are beautiful.

Virapāla is conceived as a very noble character. His

7. Vide *Daśarūpa* III. 5.

रसः सूच्यस्तु वृद्धारः स्पृशेदपि रसान्तरम् ।

love and regard for his queen Kalāvati is not in the least abated by his overpowering love for Līlāvati. He ordains that his marriage with Līlāvati should be brought about without causing the least offence to the queen. He tells Vaihāsika:

आरूढप्रणया चिराय महितं देवीपदं लम्बिता
नाहृत्यद्य कलावती मयि सखे ! वैराग्यमालम्बितुम् ।

and exclaims when he hears her bitten by the cobra

दष्टा चेदणकभुजङ्गमेन देवी
कष्टं भो विफलमिदं हि जीवितं मे ।
कर्णाटक्षितिपतिकन्यकानुरक्तं
हे चेतो जहिहि शतं मनोरथानाम् ॥

He is thus portrayed as a very worthy figure.

Conclusion

The *Līlāvati* is, thus, a fine little drama closely following the rules laid down for a *vithī*. There is a naturalness about the play and the incidents follow one another in a natural manner. The style is elegant and the poetry beautiful. The following oft-quoted verse occurs in this :

गोष्ठी सा विरला न यत्र घटते सत्ता पुरोभागिनां
नारी सा खलु दुर्लभा न कुसुतिश्लिष्टं यदीयं मनः ।
दुष्प्रापं च तदम्बु तीरजरजोराजिर्न यदूषयेद्
दुस्सार्धं च सुखं तदाविलयते दुःखानुवृत्तिर्न यत् ॥

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

BY PROF. JAGAN NATH

1. ALLAHABAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

In line 27 of this inscription the expression विद्वज्जनोपजीव्याने-
ककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य has been translated by Dr.
Fleet as follows : " who established (his) title of ' King of
poets ' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the
means of subsistence of learned people. " ¹ Here the mean-
ings of the root उप + √जीव् have not been properly appreciat-
ed. Of course ' to live upon ' is one of the senses in which
this root is used but this sense does not suit the present
context. How could Samudragupta's compositions be the
means of subsistence for the learned ? The verb has been
used here in a different and technical sense of ' drawing upon '
i. e. ' to derive inspiration from '. In this sense the root
उप + √जीव् has actually been used by various writers. The
following are a few examples :

(a) सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यं भविष्यति ।

पर्जन्य इव भूतानां अक्षयो भारतद्रुमः ॥²

(b) छायोपजीवी पदकोपजीवी सकलोपजीवी ।

भवेदथ प्राप्तकवित्वजीवी स्वोन्मेषतो वा भुवनोपजीव्यः ॥³

Therefore the correct translation of the expression in the
Allahabad inscription should be, whose title of ' King of
poets ' has been established by various poetical compositions,
fit to serve as the sources of inspiration for the learned.

2. MANKUWAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I, DATED 129.

In the first line of this inscription, we have the following
sentence : भगवतो (तः) सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्वमताचिरुद्धस्य इयं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठा-

1. CII. Vol. III, p. 15.

2. Mahābhārata, I, 92.

3. Kṣemendra, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, II, 1.

पिता भिक्षुबुद्धमित्रेण । Dr. Fleet has translated the epithet स्वमता-
विरुद्ध as "who was never refuted in respect of his tenets." Evidently he has taken it as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. There are two objections to this interpretation. Firstly, if the compound had been a *Bahuvrīhi* in the sense which has been attributed to it by Dr. Fleet, अविरुद्ध should have been the first member, i.e. the form would have been अविरुद्धस्वमतस्य । Secondly अविरुद्ध does not mean 'uncontroverted'. Etymologically it means simply, 'not contradictory, congruous, consistent etc.'. The compound is, as a matter of fact a *Karmadhāraya* and not a *Bahuvrīhi*. It should be expounded as स्वमतश्चासौ अविरुद्धश्च = स्वमताविरुद्धः । तस्य स्वमताविरुद्धस्य ।

The first member स्वमत is to be explained as स्वेन मतं (संस्कृतं) = स्वमतं । This word occurs in the Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the year 14 which runs as follows: संम्य संबुद्धस्य स्वमतस्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापयति । R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, who edited this inscription rightly translated स्वमत as 'favourite'.⁴

The second member of the compound i.e. अविरुद्ध has a technical meaning here. Its true explanation is afforded by the following passage from the *Mahāniddeśa* :

विरुद्धोति यो चित्तस्स आघातो पटिघातो अनुविरोधो कोपो पकोपो समकोपो दोसो पदोसो सम्पदोसो चित्तस्स व्यापत्ति मनोपदोसो चित्तस्स कोवो कुञ्जिना कुञ्जितत्तं दोसो दुस्सिना दुस्सितत्तं व्यापत्ति व्यापज्जना व्यापजितत्तं विरोधो पटिविरोधो चण्डिक्कं अस्सुरोप अनत्तमनता चित्तस्स, अयं वुच्चति विरोधो । यस्स एसो विरोधो पहीनो समच्छिन्नो वूपसन्नो पटिपस्सदो अभव्वुप्पत्तिको जाणग्गिणा दद्दो, सो वुच्चति अविरुद्धो ॥⁵

From this passage it is clear that अविरुद्ध is one 'whose vices of the mind have been destroyed by the fire of knowledge'. The compound स्वमताविरुद्धस्य should therefore be translated thus: 'of him who is esteemed by me and who is *aviruddha*.'

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the true import of स्वमताविरुद्ध as explained above must end the useless

speculation with regard to the date of the victory of Vindhya-vāsa over his Buddhist adversary Buddhāmītra the teacher of Vasubandhu. It has been made clear that the Mankuwar inscription does not refer at all to the unchallenged supremacy of Buddha's tenets upto the year 129, nor does it contain anything that would establish the identity of the donor, Buddhāmītra, with the celebrated Buddhist *ācārya* as supposed by K. B. Pathak⁶ and others. Any attempt to settle the date of Vasubandhu, with the aid of the Mankuwar inscription must therefore prove futile.

3. JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

In line 11, स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदात्तैः पितरं यश्च विशेषयां चकार has been translated by Dr. Fleet as follows :— " who confers distinction on (his) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished." The root वि + √शिप् in the causative form has been used here in the sense of excelling, or surpassing, and not in the sense of conferring distinction. The following parallels will make it clear :

(a) मदनमपि गुणैर्विशेषयन्ती रतिरिव मूर्तिमती विभाति येयम् ।

"Surpassing even the god of love by her excellences, she shines like Rati incarnate." ⁷

(b) रक्ताशोकरुचा विशेषितगुणो बिम्बाधरालक्तकः ।⁸

The commentator Kāṭayavema explains it thus : रक्ताशोककुसुमस्वरुचा कान्त्या विशेषितगुणः । विशेषितोऽतिशयितस्तिरस्कृतो गुणो यस्य स तथोक्तः । Both these passages support the sense proposed here.

Further, the word अनुपस्कृतैः has also been translated incorrectly. Of course उपस्कृत does mean, 'polished' in certain contexts. Therefore अनुपस्कृत will mean 'unpolished' and not 'everything except unpolished', as rendered by Dr. Fleet. But the meaning 'unpolished' does not suit the present context, and therefore Dr. Fleet tried to arrive at a suitable meaning in a round about way. But the simple course is to

6. IA. 1912, p. 244, and D. N. Mookerjee, IC. IV, p. 520.

7. *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, IV. 4. 8. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, III, 5a.

take अनुपस्कृत in the sense of 'unblemished.' In this sense the word has been used in the following verse of the *Manusmṛti*, VII, 98 :—

एषोऽनुपस्कृतः प्रोक्तो योधधर्मः सनातनः ।

अस्माद्धर्मान्न च्यवेत क्षत्रियो घ्नन् रणे रिपून् ॥

The commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa explains अनुपस्कृत as अविगर्हित। The whole sentence in the inscription should be translated thus : 'and who excelled his father by his noble and unblemished virtues.'

In the same line of this inscription, अविस्मयः has been translated by Dr. Fleet as 'absence of astonishment.' But as a complimentary expression, which it undoubtedly is, the word remains unexpressive if taken in the sense proposed by Dr. Fleet. Here विस्मयः means 'arrogance' and अविस्मयः 'the absence of arrogance.' This meaning is quite familiar to students of Sanskrit literature. The following two examples will suffice :

(a) तपः क्षरति विस्मयात् । *Manusmṛti*, IV, 237.

(b) भाग्यैश्चलैर्विस्मितः । *Svapnavāsavadattam*, I, 3.

4. BHITARI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

In line 6, the first *pāda* of the verse has been read as प्रथितपृथुमतिस्वभावशक्तिः and translated as "of him, who was renowned for the innate power of (his) mighty intellect," by Dr. Fleet. Here the reading स्वभाव is incorrect. In the first conjunct there is no trace of a *v*. The lower letter is a straight horizontal bar, and is evidently a subscript *r*. The upper letter is a *p* and not a *s* as there is no trace of a loop or a hook attached to the left-hand verticle. The first syllable is therefore *pra*, and the word is *prabhāvaśaktiḥ*. The whole compound should be translated as, 'of him, whose wide intellect and majestic power are far famed.' *Prabhāvaśaktiḥ* 'the majesty or the pre-eminent position of the king himself,' is one of the three well known 'royal prowesses' viz. मंत्रशक्तिः, उत्साहशक्तिः and प्रभावशक्तिः, mentioned by ancient Indian writers on political science.

In lines 8-10 Dr. Fleet gives the following text :—

विनयबलसुनीतैर्विक्रमेण कक्रमेण
प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन लब्ध्वा ।
स्वभिमतविजिगीषाप्रोद्यतानां परेषां
प्रणिहित इव ले[भे सं]विधानोपदेशः ॥

It has been translated by him thus : “ By whom — having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct, — instruction in the art of disposition (of resources) was acquired (and) was employed as the means of (subduing his) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome (to them). ”

The reading *lebhe* in the fourth *pāda* is incorrect. On both sides of *l* there are horizontal short bars at the top. This syllable is therefore *lo* and not *le*. The next syllable which is indistinct, should be taken to be *ke*. The word is therefore *loke* and not *lebhe*. With the new reading *loke* the sense also is remarkably improved, while with *lebhe* it had to be brought out in a far-fetched manner as is apparent from Dr. Fleet's translation. There seems to be not much sense in saying that he attained instruction in the art of disposition (of resources) after he had already obtained the cherished objects by training, force, polity and valour !

The verse should be translated thus : ‘ By whom — having gained (his) cherished object by means of discipline, force, polity and valour in turn, (and) through daily close application (i. e. exertion), instruction in planning was laid down in this world for others, (or) the most distinguished of those who are intensely inclined towards their cherished desire for conquest. ’

In this translation I have rendered परेषां as ‘ the most distinguished ’ following a usage of Kālidāsa in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*.⁹ The meaning ‘ laid down ’ for *pranīhita* is supported by the *Nānārthasaṃgraha* of Ajayapāla.¹⁰

9. न त्वया द्रष्टव्यानां परं दृष्टं । Act II. 10. भवेत् प्रणिहितं न्यस्ते । p. 61.

In lines 14 and 15 the following verse occurs :—

[स्वै]र्दे[ण्डै] [:] [~] (?) ल्यु[-] स्मचलितं वंशं प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवर्णिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वातेषु कृत्वा दयाम् ।
नोस्मिक्तो [न] च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं संवर्धमानद्युतिः
गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दकज(?)नो (?) यं प्रापयत्याख्यताम् ॥

The text of the fourth *pāda* as given here by Dr. Fleet needs reconsideration. The syllable immediately following *Stutibhiḥ*—*ca* is not *va* but *vr*, the medial *r* being absolutely clear on the original stone. In the next conjunct the upper letter is *t* and not *n*. The lower letter cannot be a *da*, and may be a *ta*. The conjunct is therefore *tta*. The next letter is clearly a *k*, but the letter following is not a *j* at all, as its left portion is curved. In this very record the left portion of a *j* consists of a straight verticle in all cases. This letter is a *tha* and it was recognised as such by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.¹¹ The next syllable is *nai* and not *no* as the two bars at the top of *n* bend towards the left. If the medial vowel had been *o*, these bars would have been placed in the opposite directions. Thus in place of *vandakajano* we should read *vrttakathanaiḥ*. After this the next syllable is *yam*. The syllable following this has been read as *prā* by Dr. Fleet and *pre* by Dr. Indraji. The vowel is clearly medial *e* and the lower consonant is of course a subscript *r*. But the middle consonant is not a *p*, as the presence of a hook attached to the right verticle shows that it is a *h*. The syllable is therefore *hre*. The last word in this line is *āryyatā* and not *āryyatām*. There is no trace either of an anusvāra or a final *m*. The corrected text of the fourth *pāda* would stand thus : गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वृत्तकथनैः यं हेपयत्याख्यताम् । “whom (his) nobility causes to blush by reason of the narrations of his exploits through songs and eulogies.” With Dr. Fleet’s reading the sense was rather clumsy. Surely it was not the poet’s intention to say that the songs and praises of the bards raised Skandagupta to the status of an *ārya* ! That would be a very poor compliment to any patron, by his court poet. The corrected reading brings out the real meaning, namely that Skandagupta was

11. JBoBrRAS. XV1, pp. 349-50.

temperamentally so modest that he blushed on hearing the panegyrics of his exploits being sung by the bards.

5. THE HARAHA INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF
ĪŚANAVARMAN.

This inscription has been edited by Dr. Hiranand Shastri.¹² In the third line, the first *pāda* of the fourth verse has been read as follows: तेष्वार्द्रो हरिवर्मणावनिभुजा भूतिर्भुवो भूतये । In the third syllable the consonant is not *d* but *p* as is clear from the presence of the right hand verticle. At the top, there is only one bar bending towards the left. The medial vowel is therefore *e* and not *au* for which we require three bars. This syllable is therefore *pe*. In the eighth syllable, there is again only one vertical bar attached to *n* on its right. This is therefore *nā* and not *no*. In the twelfth syllable again, there is a single vertical bar attached in the middle of *j*. This is therefore *jā* and not *jo*. The whole *pāda* should read as follows :

तेष्वार्द्रो हरिवर्मणावनिभुजा भूतिर्भुवो भूतये ।

6. THE TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF GHATOTKACAGUPTA

This inscription has been published by M. B. Garde Esq. in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. xxvi, p. 115ff. In the first line we have the following sentence : *caranākamalaṃ mattyaṃ vandyete siddha-sanhaiḥ*. Mr. Garde has corrected *mattyaṃ* into *acchaṃ* evidently taking the anusvāra over *la* as superfluous and *ttya*, a mistake for *ccha*. Dr. D. C. Sircar while accepting the emendation suggests that *Kamla-mantyaṃ* is a better reading.¹³ But I think that the original as it stands is quite correct and there is no need of any emendation. The word *mattyaṃ* means, 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. While commenting on Pāṇinī, iv, 4, 47 (मनजन हलात् करणजल्पकपेषु) Bhattoji explains मत्त्यं as follows : मत्तं ज्ञानं तस्य करणं भावः साधनं वा । The word qualifies the lotus-like feet of some deity which is eulogised in the first verse, and the foot is looked upon as the means of attainment of knowledge (*jñāna*). It is not to be construed with Candragupta mentioned next, but evidently with the deity mentioned before.

12. EI. XIX, p. 110 ff. 13. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 495, f. n. 3.

THE REIGN OF IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH II OF BIJAPUR

BY DR. P. M. JOSHI

The reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627) was the longest reign of all the Ādilshāhi Sultans. The Ādilshāhi dynasty of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Ādil Shāh towards the close of the fifteenth century and the kingdom of Bijapur became the most powerful of all the five kingdoms that arose in the Deccan on the break-up of the Bahmani Empire. The Deccan remained more or less aloof from the north till the closing years of the sixteenth century; but after the great Akbar had conquered most of the northern and eastern kingdoms, his attention naturally moved down to the Deccan where political conditions were favourable for the progress of Mughal arms. For a time the united efforts of Malik Ambēr of the Nizām Shāhī Kingdom and Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur prevented the Mughals from completely destroying the Deccan Kingdoms. It is particularly from this point of view that the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II is important in the history of the Deccan.

Ibrāhīm's minority: the first two regencies:— The first ten years of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign were marked by the rule of regents, and the first two of these, by great unrest in the capital, owing to the attempts of the various parties to supplant each other and assume power. Dilāvar Khān, the last in the sequence of regents, proved to be the ablest and strongest of them all and held sway for eight years. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's personality finds little reflection in the events of these ten years; the dominant figures were Chānd Bībī and Dilāvar Khān. It was the queen dowager who contrived the downfall of one regent after another, till at last Dilāvar Khān climbed to power and Chānd Bībī retired to Ahmadnagar, where a few years later she immortalised herself by her defence of the Nizām Shāhī capital against the Mughals.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, was only nine years of age when he succeeded his uncle. The young king's aunt, the dowager Chānd Bibī, took charge of him as his guardian and the affairs of state were entrusted to a regent. The choice for this office fell on Kāmil Khān Deccani.¹ This does not mean that other party chiefs made no efforts to gain the position. They did; but Kāmil Khān's party was the strongest and further, he had the tacit support of Chānd Bibī.

After coming to power, the regent endeavoured to usurp all authority and to become absolute in the kingdom. This brought him in conflict with Chānd Bibī.² Kāmil Khān had little counted the cost of incurring the displeasure of such a woman. The queen dowager set to bring about his downfall, which was not a very difficult task since Kāmil Khān's rivals were too eager to displace him.

Chānd Bibī directed Hājī Kishvar Khān, an officer of high rank, impatient of Kāmil Khān's autocracy, to remove the regent from office³ and if necessary from the world. The regent saw his downfall imminent and tried to enrich himself as much as he could from the royal treasury.⁴ But the vigilance of Rafī-ud-dīn Shīrāzī, the officer in charge of this department, frustrated his intentions and furnished his opponents one more justification for his overthrow.

When the story of the strained relations between Kāmil Khān and Chānd Bibī became public, discontent against the former grew suddenly in volume and many of his followers openly disowned him. Very soon the regent's popularity was at its lowest ebb when Kishvar Khān suddenly surprised him and tried to capture him alive. Kāmil Khān's days were over. While his rivals were forcing their way into his residence, he managed to effect his escape and, accompanied by such of his followers as still adhered to him, made for Kalhār,

1. B. S. 152-53; T. M. 111b-112a; Ferishta II. 92.

2. B. S. 153; T. M. 112a; Ferishta II. 92-93; F. A. 150a.

3. Ferishta II. 93; B. S. 154; F. A. 150b.

4. T. M. 112a-b; F. A. 151a.

the seat of his 'jāgir'⁵ (June 17, 1580). But he was followed by Kishvar Khān. A skirmish ensued between the pursuer and pursued in which Kāmil Khān lost his life.⁶ So ended the first regency after a brief period of little more than two months.

Though once again the capital witnessed a bid for regency,⁷ Kishvar Khān soon established himself in that position. Chānd Bībī had to espouse his cause as a return for the leading part he took in ending Kāmil Khān's tyranny.⁸ But the change of regents did not improve the queen dowager's position; she soon discovered that under the new regent she had only added to the thralldom from which she had tried to deliver herself.

In the meanwhile, Ahmadnagar was not slow to take advantage of the internal disturbances in Bijāpur. The quarrels between Kāmil Khān and Kishvar Khān and the subsequent disorder, offered to Murtazā Nizām Shāh an opportunity of reconquering the coveted border districts adjoining Sholāpur.⁹ He sent his general Bāyazīd-ul-Mulk to raid the 'Ādilshāhī territory and to concentrate on the capture of the fortress of Shāhdurg.

Kishvar Khān was loyally supported by all the courtiers in this crisis. The 'Ādilshāhīs gained two decisive victories within ten days, the enemy was defeated.¹⁰ But soon there was a rift in the lute. Kishvar Khān made himself unpopular by ordering the victorious 'Ādilshāhī officers to account for every small item of the loot in the recent campaign and to send all the captured elephants to the royal stables.¹¹ This became with the officers a point of honour, the regent's peremptory orders had no precedent. The embers of discontent and rivalry that were dormant suddenly flared up.

5. T. M. 114a-b; B. S. 154-55. 6. T. M. 115a; B. S. 155-56.

7. Cf. F. A. 153a-155a; T. M. 115a. 8. B. S. 157-59.

9. Ferishta II. 94; Burhān (LI. 69).

10. B. S. 160; F. A. 156; Burhān (LI. 71); Ferishta II. 94-95.

11. B. S. 160-61; T. M. 117-b-118a; Ferishta II. 95.

It was clear that Kishvar Khān was unable to escape the temptation to which his high office exposed him. He aimed at sole and uncontrolled authority and shrank from no steps to attain his object. The discontented army officers of the recent campaign talked of deposing him and placing Mustafā Khān, a courtier of their choice, in his place. Learning of these rumours, Kishvar Khān had Mustafā Khān assassinated at Bankāpur.¹² He next proceeded to rid himself of Chānd Bibī. On the pretext that she had instigated her brother Mur-tazā Nizām Shāh to invade Bījāpur, Kishvar Khān obtained the sanction of the boy king to place her under arrest. To her humiliation and to the indignation of the citizens of the capital, the queen-dowager was forcibly carried from her palace and was confined in the fort of Satāra.¹³

The regent's treatment of Chānd Bibī and his base murder of Mustafā Khān spelt his downfall. He became unpopular in the capital¹⁴ and as he passed through its streets, women and children openly jeered at him, the subject of their hate, the target of their scorn. The Abyssinian officers headed by Ikhlās Khān took advantage of this public dissatisfaction and rose against Kishvar Khān. With the capital against him the regent had but one alternative — flight. He escaped to Ahmadnagar¹⁵ (October 24, 1580), and within the brief period of seven months, Ibrāhīm's reign witnessed the overthrow of the second regent.

The Abyssinian regency: Ikhlās Khān:— Chānd Bibī was now released, and she assumed her original position as guardian of the young king. The Abyssinians treated her with great deference and consulted her on all political matters. Ikhlās Khān, the leader of the Abyssinian party, became regent.¹⁶ But Chānd Bibī insisted that he should be associated

12. T. M. 118a-b; B. S. 162; Ferishta II. 96.

13. T. M. 118b-119a; B. S. 164-65; Ferishta II. 97.

14. Ferishta II. 97.

15. B. S. 167-68; T. M. 120b. From Ahmadnagar Kishvar Khān went to Golconda. He was followed there by a retainer of Mustafā Khān and was stabbed to death. T. M. 127a.

16. B. S. 169; Ferishta II. 99.

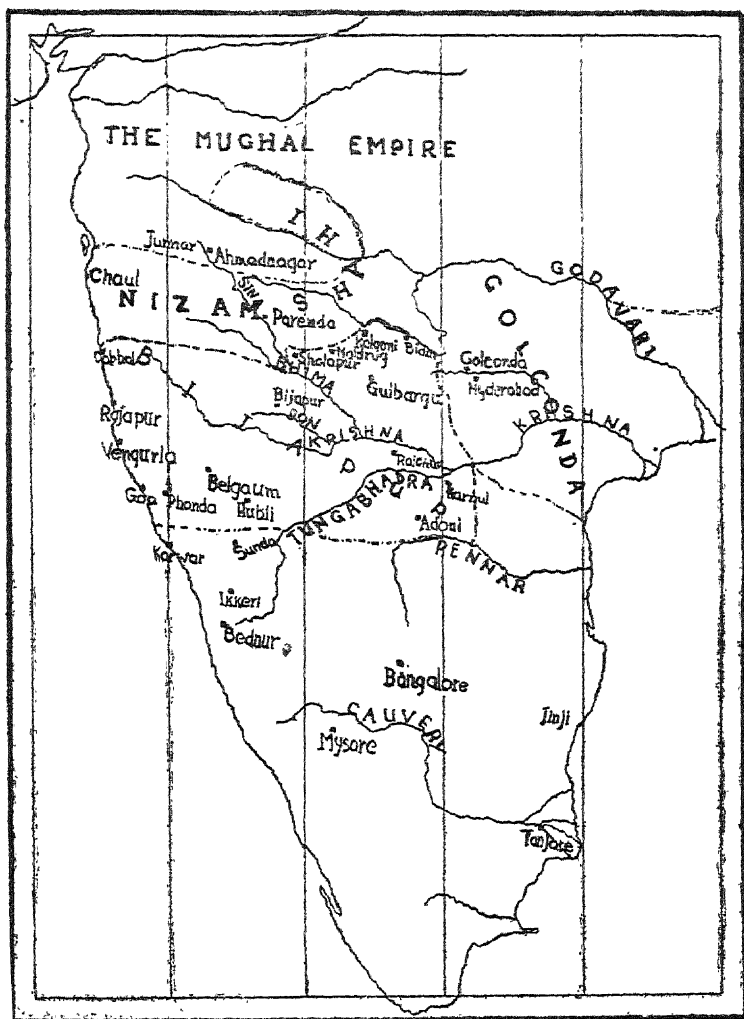
in all matters of administration, with Afzal Khān Shīrāzī whom she nominated Peshvā. Afzal Khān was a 'foreigner' whereas the regent was an Abyssinian. With the memory of her recent imprisonment in Satāra fresh in her mind, Chānd Bibī had no desire to risk the leader of any one party becoming absolute. But she guarded against one evil only to expose the kingdom to another. Ikhlās Khān was loath to suffer the serious limitations on his power imposed by joint responsibility with Afzal Khān. He resorted to the most effective means of freeing himself from his colleague; he accused Afzal Khān of high treason and put him to death.¹⁷

The murder of Afzal Khān was the signal for civil war. The desire of the 'foreigners' to avenge the murder of their leader led to bloody contests in the capital. But the disorder did not restrict itself to the capital; it spread southwards among the petty 'nāyaks' who once again made an attempt to overthrow the Ādilshāhī yoke. Ultimately it resulted in an invasion of the kingdom by the combined armies of Ahmadnagar and Golconda.¹⁸

The sore straits to which the kingdom had been reduced under his administration struck Ikhlās Khān so forcibly that he, in consultation with his colleagues, decided to lay down the reigns of power and agreed to subordinate himself to any regent the queen dowager would choose to appoint. Chānd Bibī called to her aid Shāh Abu-'l-Hasan, the son of Shāh Tāhīr, the famous minister of Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar. The new regent set to work with great vigour; he reconciled the rebellious Hindu chieftains of Carnātak and the discontented 'amīrs' at court. As the son of Shāh Tāhīr, he still commanded the respect of the Nizāmshāhī statesmen, and he prevailed on them to withdraw. Without further hostilities the Ahmadnagar army retired. The Golconda army, however, was not allowed to go unmolested. It was pursued out of the kingdom by Dilāvar Khān.¹⁹

17. Ferishta II. 99. 18. Ferishta II. 100; cf. T. M. I23a.

19. T. M. 127b-128a; Ferishta II. 103-04.



Bijapur during the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century.

But the disorder in the kingdom did not end with the retirement of the enemy. Dilāvar Khān, after his victorious return from the punitive expedition against the Qutbshāhis, aspired for an increased share in the affairs of government.²⁰ Ikhlās Khān, the leader of the Abyssinian party was still in favour of working in consultation with Shāh Abu'l-Hasan. But both Dilāvar Khān and Hamid Khān detested this plan of sharing power with a man not of their party. They declared their disapproval of the double government and their intention of putting an end to it.²¹

Ikhlās Khān was on his guard. Aware of the defection of his erstwhile colleagues, he was in readiness to meet the contingency of a threatened civil war. The tension soon broke out into a fight in which innocent citizens unnecessarily suffered. Possibly Dilāvar Khān's humanity was touched, possibly he found himself unable to overcome the other party; in consultation with his colleague Hamid Khān, he sent a message to Ikhlās Khān that civil war might mean disaster for the kingdom, since the enemy would certainly not fail to profit by it. They, therefore, should once again unite and work together for the good of the state.²²

Ikhlās Khān, who still had the advantage of having under his command the strategic points in the capital, refused Dilāvar's offer and the civil war continued sporadically. After a stalemate of about two months, Dilāvar Khān, by judicious bribery and promises of future gains, persuaded the garrison in the capital to desert Ikhlās Khān and to join him.²³ The regent now offered to come to terms; he came in person to Dilāvar Khān's residence to negotiate a compromise but he was captured and imprisoned by Dilāvar Khān's men.²⁴

The Abyssinian regency: Dilāvar Khān; After Ikhlās Khān's deposition his colleague Abu'l-Hasan was also imprisoned, blinded, and shortly afterwards, put to death.²⁵ Dilāvar

20. Cf. T. M. 128b-129a; Ferishta II. 105.

21. B. S. 184-85; T. M. 129a. 22. B.S. 185-86; T. M. 129b-130a.

23. Cf. Ferishta II. 106. 24. T. M. 131a; B. S. 186-87.

25. Ferishta II. 106.

Khān and Hamīd Khān now became supreme. For a time both of them conducted the business of state in unison. As his share of the bargain, Hamīd Khān hoped to be appointed chief of the army. But Dilāvar Khān passed over his claim and appointed his own son to that position. He went still further; he placed Hamīd Khān under arrest and sent him to end his days in the fortress of Satāra.²⁶ Dilāvar Khān now became supreme in Bījāpur.

If Dilāvar Khān ascended to power by questionable means, he undoubtedly made good use of his position by his firm administration. He strove for order at home and peace with the neighbouring kingdoms. He first sent an expeditionary force into Canara to subdue the 'nāyaks' and then endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of Ahmadnagar and Golconda by matrimonial alliances. Ibrāhīm's sister Khadija was given in marriage to Husain, son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh and young Ibrāhīm himself was afterwards married to a sister of the Golconda king.²⁷ Chānd Bibī, finding her influence declining in Bījāpur, gracefully retired to her brother's court at Ahmadnagar, on the pretext of escorting the Ādilshāhī princess.²⁸

For a time the kingdom enjoyed peace. But in 1588 it was involved in a war with Ahmadnagar. In June of that year Murtazā Nizām Shāh was murdered by his son Husain, and disturbances broke out in the Nizāmshāhī kingdom.²⁹ Murtazā was succeeded by the parricide Husain, but he too was murdered by the Deccanī nobility who placed Ismā'il, another member of the royal family, on the throne. Burhān, the brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh, was at this time at Delhi and was supported by Akbar to make a bid for the Nizāmshāhī throne. His cause was further espoused by Dilāvar Khān, the Ādilshāhī regent who marched towards Ahmadnagar to help Burhān to gain his object. But he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Jamāl Khān, the Nizāmshāhī general, at Dhārāseo.³⁰

26. T. M. 131a-b; B. S. 188-89.

27. Ferishta II. 109-10; B. S. 189-91; T. M. 132a.

28. Ferishta II. 109; B. S. 191-93. 29. Ferishta II. 288-89.

30. Ferishta II. 122-23.

Dilāvar Khān's defeat led to his downfall. His malcontent rivals accused him of complicity with the enemy and called upon the king to put an end to the minister's power.³¹ Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh too showed every sign of discontent with his tutelage and every desire to dispense with it. The move to get rid of Dilāvar Khān came from the king himself. He was of opinion that the plan should be carried out while the royal camp was at Shāhdurg, without waiting to return to the capital. And so he sent word to 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankus Khān, two of Dilāvar Khān's rivals to help him to get rid of the regent.³² The two 'amīrs' offered whole-hearted service to their royal master and arranged that the king should go over to their camp.

Dilāvar Khān vigilantly guarded the king; but Ibrāhīm watched for his opportunity and in the early hours of Sunday, May 10, 1590, made his way to the camp of 'Ain-ul-Mulk.³³ Dilāvar Khān followed him at daylight, professing his loyalty and expressing his distress at the conduct of his master. He entreated Ibrāhīm to return to his tent, and on the king's refusal, even resorted to force. A short skirmish ensued; but the army was with the king, and the frustrated Dilāvar Khān fled first to Bidar and subsequently to Ahmadnagar where he was received by Burhān II,³⁴ who had now established himself on the Nizāmshāhī throne.

From Ahmadnagar, Dilāvar Khān plotted against Bijāpur and incited Burhān to invade the kingdom. Entrusted by Burhān to lead the campaign, he marched towards the 'Ādil-shāhī frontier and with his intimate knowledge of the territory, occupied an old disused fort on the Bijāpur side of the river which he fortified³⁵ (March 1592). Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh at first temporised with Dilāvar Khān, lured him to Bijāpur on false promises, captured him treacherously, blinded

31. T. M. 139a; Ferishta II. 126.

32. Ferishta II. 126; T. M. 139a; B. S. 208.

33. Ferishta II. 126; T. M. 139b.

34. Ferishta II. 127-29; T. M. 139b-140a.

35. Ferishta II. 129.31; B. S. 214-15.

him and sent him to end his days at Satāra.³⁶ Then he marched against the rest of the Nizāmshāhī army and forced them to retire. Burhān Nizām Shāh was obliged to sue for peace and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh agreed to it only on condition that Burhān dismantled the fort, which Dilāvar Khān had recently rebuilt on the 'Ādilshāhī frontier.³⁷ To ensure peace Burhān agreed to this condition (May, 1592) and Ibrāhīm triumphant-ly returned to Bijāpur.

Subjugation of the Nāyaks and Rebellion of Prince Ismā'il:— During the five years between 1588 and 1593, while the kingdom was occupied in struggles with Ahmadnagar, the Hindu 'nāyaks' had neglected to pay their tributes. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh resolved to punish these chiefs and sent Manjhū Khān to the Canara country with a considerable army.³⁸ The general made Bankāpur his headquarters, from where he first issued an edict calling upon all the tributary chiefs to pay the arrears of their tribute, promising protection to those who obeyed and threatening the defaulters with dire consequences.

Ganga Nāyak, one of the principal Hindu chieftains, was the first to make his submission to Manjhū Khān.³⁹ With his help the general marched against Jera, which belonged to Arasappā Nāyak, and laid siege to the place. His efforts soon met with success, for Arasappā agreed to pay the arrears, and as a penalty for his default, made further presents to Manjhū Khān.⁴⁰ The 'Ādilshāhī general next marched against Mysore and reduced the city after a siege of three months; but its Hindu 'rājā' soon recovered it.⁴¹ If the conquests of Manjhū Khān had continued uninterrupted, the whole of the Carnātak country would have been annexed to Bijāpur. But the general was now recalled to the capital to help the sultān to deal with a new danger which was threatening his throne. This was the rebellion of prince Ismā'il, the brother of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh.

36. Ferishta II. 132-33; B. S. 217-18.

37. B. S. 219-20. 38. Ferishta II. 138. 39. Ferishta II. 138.

40. Ferishta II. 139. 41. Ibid.

After his last defeat, Burhān Nizām Shāh adopted a different line of action in his plans against Bijāpur. He now resorted to underhand methods and wrote secret letters to prince Ismā'il who was a royal prisoner at Belgaum. He induced the prince to make a bid for the throne and to rise in rebellion against his brother.⁴² He also sent money to enable Ismā'il to gather support. In addition he also won over Ankus Khān and 'Ain-ul-mulk, two 'Ādilshāhī 'amīrs' who had 'jāgīrs' in the vicinity of Belgaum, to support Ismā'il's cause.⁴³ It was arranged that they were to join the prince, and with their combined armies, to march towards the capital. In the meanwhile, Burhān, in alliance with the Qutb Shāh, was to attack the 'Ādilshāhī frontiers to divide the Bijāpurī forces.⁴⁴

Burhān Nizām Shāh had already won over Sāvantrāo, the chief of the garrison at Belgaum by generous bribes and he had now changed into an ardent supporter of prince Ismā'il. On May 22, 1594, Sāvantrāo declared for Ismā'il and captured the loyal officers of the garrison, and the rebels started with the advantage of having a strong fort for themselves. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent Iliyās Khān from Bijāpur to deal with the rebels and wrote letters to 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankus Khān to support him.⁴⁵ But these two had already deserted, and instead of trying to suppress the rebellion they joined the rebels against the royal troops.

Nor was this all. The governor of Bijāpur also declared for the rebel prince. Following his example, the officers and garrison at Mīraj acclaimed the pretender.^{45a} To add to these misfortunes, the Ahmadnagar and Golconda armies attacked the 'Ādilshāhī frontiers.⁴⁶

At this time news was brought to Ibrāhīm that Ismā'il

42. T. M. 143a; F. A. 200 a-b; Ferishta II. 305; Ferishta says that Burhān was invited by the rebels to support them. In return for his help they promised him nine lakh huns and twenty elephants and the fortress of Sholāpur. 146-47.

43. T. M. 143a; F. A. 200b-201a. 44. T. M. 143a.

45. F. A. 201a; Ferishta II. 144. 45a. B. S. 221; Ferishta II. 146.

46. B. S. 221; F. A. 201b.

was crowned king at Belgaum where he was holding court with Ankus Khān and 'Ain-ul-mulk as his 'amīrs'.⁴⁷ It was also rumoured that Burhān Nizām Shāh was thinking of marching to Belgaum to help the rebel prince.⁴⁸ It was Hamīd Khān who saved the situation. Ibrāhīm now made him the commander-in-chief of the 'Ādilshāhī army. Hamīd Khān counselled immediate action, so that the different enemy forces should have no time to join together, and left for Belgaum (November 27, 1594).⁴⁹

The rebels in the meanwhile had left Belgaum, their headquarters, and were encamped at Rāybāg⁵⁰ (16. 50 N. 74. 52 E) awaiting news from Burhān Nizām Shāh. Hamīd Khān sent word to 'Ain-ul-mulk and Ankus Khān, the captains of the rebel army, that though apparently he was marching to suppress the rebellion, his heart was really with prince Ismā'īl; that they should crown him even before the Nizām Shāh arrived. Hamīd Khān's dissimulation deceived the rebels who awaited his arrival. But to their utter surprise and consternation he came not as a friend but as an enemy. Coming as he did, without the rebels having any suspicions about his hostile intentions, by a clever coup, he was able to capture the ringleaders of the rebellion and prince Ismā'īl. The former suffered instant death and the prince was taken to Bījāpur, where, while being blinded, he succumbed to the ordeal.⁵¹ Burhān Nizām Shāh had advanced up to Parenda, but when he heard that the rebellion was suppressed, he returned to Ahmadnagar.⁵²

Burhān Nizām Shāh was, however, undaunted in his hostile intentions against Bījāpur. Early in 1595 he sent an army against Sholāpur. But this adventure failed, and in the beginning of April 1595, Burhān died.⁵³ The war against Ah-

47. T. M. 143b-144a; F. A. 202a.

48. T. M. 144a; F. A. 202a; Ferishta II. 148.

49. T. M. 145a; B. S. 223-24; Ferishta II, 148. 50. F. A. 203a.

51. T. M. 145b; B. S. 225-26; Ferishta II. 148-50.

52. Ferishta II. 150, 305; T. M. 146a; B. S. 227.

53. T. M. 146a-b; Ferishta II. 306-07.

madnagar was continued by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in which Burhān's son and successor, the minor Ibrāhīm, was killed.⁵⁴ After this victory Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh made a triumphal entry into his capital (August 27, 1595). This proved to be Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's last war against the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, for very soon, events at Ahmadnagar demanded all the political sagacity of the Deccan kings.

Early relations of the Mughals with the Deccan sultanates:— While the kings of the Deccan were engaged in fighting between themselves, yet another and a greater king was looking for new worlds to conquer. This was Akbar. It was his ambition to subjugate Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and other kingdoms of the Deccan, once he was firmly established on the throne of Delhi. His ambition was very soon to be fulfilled by the internecine strife in the Deccan and particularly the civil strife at Ahmadnagar. In the meanwhile Akbar had to abide his time. He, however, sent an ambassador to Bijāpur who returned to Delhi about 1574 in company with an envoy from Bijāpur and valuable presents from 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh to Akbar.⁵⁵ There was a further exchange of ambassadors between Bijāpur and Delhi during the reign of 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh, and even at the time of his death a Mughal envoy was present in Bijāpur.⁵⁶

By 1590 Akbar had the whole of northern India under his sway; the Deccan alone remained a field for his ambition and a reward for his arms. When, therefore, he felt that he was sufficiently secure in the north, he turned his attention towards the south. As a preliminary measure he resolved to send missions to the rulers of the Deccan, in order to ascertain whether or not they would be willing to accept his suzerainty without offering resistance. Accordingly in August 1591, he dispatched four missions severally directed to Khāndesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda.⁵⁷ These ambassadors were sent principally with a design to be informed of the state

54. Ferishta II. 163-68, 309.

55. Badaunī II. 257.

56. *Ain I.* 466; Akbarnāma III, 440; Ferishta II. 89; *M. U. I.* 181.

57. Akbarnāma III. 909; Badaunī II. 389-90; Ferishta I. 508.

of those countries upon which he had fixed an eye of conquest.⁵⁸ They returned to Delhi sometime in 1593 and brought advice that their proposals had been rejected with contempt by the princes of the Deccan, who had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar. The great Mughal, therefore, resolved to reduce them to obedience and gave orders to prince Dāniyāl to proceed with an army to the south.⁵⁹ Thus Akbar decided to do by force what he had failed to achieve by diplomacy.

Events in the Deccan and particularly in Ahmadnagar were shaping themselves in a very propitious way for the progress of the Mughal arms. The Deccan powers continued to fight among themselves. After the death of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh, Miyān Manjhū the prime minister succeeded in elevating an impostor to the throne of Ahmadnagar. The Nizāmshāhī nobles headed by Ikhlas Khān, learning of this intrigue, refused to acknowledge the new king and deserted the cause of Miyān Manjhū with the result that civil war broke out in the Nizāmshāhī capital. It was at this time that Miyān Manjhū in a fit of desperation wrote to Shāh Murād, the second son of Akbar, to march to his assistance.⁶⁰ Before this letter reached the prince, he had already received from the emperor Akbar, "who was ever meditating the conquest of the Deccan" a 'firmān', to march towards Ahmadnagar.⁶¹

Prince Murād availed himself of Miyān Manjhū's invitation and marched towards the Deccan. Miyān Manjhū, who during this interval, had prevailed over his rivals, repented of having made overtures to prince Murād.⁶² But his repentance came too late; the Mughal army had already appeared in the Deccan and laid siege to Ahmadnagar⁶³ (December 18, 1595).

58. This assertion is made by Fr. Jerome Xavier, who was at this time in Akbar's retinue. He says that the Emperor's so-called ambassadors to the south were really spies. A. D. V. 339.

59. Akbarnāma III. 994-95; Ferishta I. 511.

60. Ferishta II 310-12; B. S. 233.

61. Burhān (I. A. LII. 295); Akbarnāma III. 995.

62. Burhān; l. c. 296; Ferishta II. 312.

63. Akbarnāma III. 1046; M. U. I. 54.

In the meanwhile, Miyān Manjhū, on the pretext that he was going to Bijāpur to request the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, left Ahmadnagar with the pretender and retired to the fortress of Ausa.⁶⁴

The task of the defence of the Nizāmshāhī capital fell upon Chānd Bibī. She was loyally supported by the Abyssinians and for two months kept the Mughals at bay.⁶⁵ At last on March 2, 1596 the enemy succeeded in making a breach in the wall of the fort.⁶⁶ It was Chānd Bibī's valour that repulsed the imperial troops. This most glowing incident of Indian history is too well known for repetition.

The Mughals had suffered heavily and were in great distress as their ammunition had run short and their provisions become scarce. News came to prince Murād, at this time, that the armies of Bijāpur and Golconda were coming to help Ahmadnagar.⁶⁷ He had no alternative but to negotiate peace. Chānd Bibī agreed to cede Berar to the Mughals and on Tuesday, March 23, 1596, peace was concluded and the Mughals retreated.⁶⁸

But not for long. The internal disturbances in Ahmadnagar continued. Chānd Bibī found herself in opposition to her erstwhile supporters the Abyssinians.⁶⁹ Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent Rafī-ud-dīn Shīrāzī to prevail on the rival parties in Ahmadnagar to compose their differences, as the enemy was still at their doors. Rafī-ud-dīn's mission of reconciliation proved futile and in disappointment Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh recalled him to Bijāpur.⁷⁰

Taking advantage of these dissensions in the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, the Mughals under prince Murād once again advanced towards the border and in violation of the recent treaty took possession of the Nizāmshāhī town of Pāthri⁷¹ (19. 15 N.

64. Burhān, I. c. 290; Akbarnāma III. 1046.

65. Burhān I. c. 338; Ferishta II. 314-17.

66. Akbarnāma III. 1048; Burhan, I. c. 339-40.

67. Burhān, I. c. 337-38; Ferishta II. 318.

68. Burhān, I. c. 341-46; Ferishta II. 318; Akbarnāma III. 1048.

69. T. M. 153a. 70. T. M. 153b-156a. 71. Ferishta II. 320.

76. 27 E). Chānd Bibī requested help from Bijāpur and Golconda to repulse the unwarranted Mughal advance. Accordingly Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Suhail Khān. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh also sent a force from Golconda to join the Bijāpuris. The two armies, along with the Nizāmshāhīs marched towards Berar and encamped near the town of Sonpet (19.2 N. 76.29 E). Here a battle was fought (January 27, 1597) in which the imperialists were first beaten back, but in the end overpowered the Deccani troops.⁷² The allied armies returned to their respective dominions. The Mughal grandees quarrelled between themselves and the Mughal general Khān Khānān was recalled.⁷³ This perhaps saved the Nizāmshāhī kingdom from immediate extinction.

While the Mughals were fighting their way into the Deccan, their advent caused a flutter at Goa. The Portuguese were perhaps the first to apprehend the danger of the Mughal invasion and accordingly, Mathias de Albuquerque, the viceroy of Goa, sent an embassy to Bijāpur and to hasten an alliance, mentioned to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh the evident danger to those kings who did not ally and strengthen themselves against the common enemy, the Mughals.⁷⁴ The Portuguese authorities seemed to be aware of the imperialistic designs of Akbar, against which the best preparation was a defensive alliance with the neighbouring kingdoms. Union alone was strength; how far the Deccan Sultanates succeeded in imbibing the old adage, history has ruthlessly proved.

Political affairs of the Deccan about the beginning of the seventeenth century:—After the defeat at Sonpet, the kings of Bijāpur and Golconda took but little active share in the affairs of the Deccan. Muhammad Qulī directed his attention towards Telingana and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh busied himself with the foundations of a new city to be called Naoraspur.⁷⁵ But

72. Ferishta II. 320-21; F. A. 234a-238b; Akbarnāma III. 1070-72. The Mughal historian says that the battle was fought near Ashtī, 24 miles from Pāthri.

73. M. U. I. 53. 74. J. B. B. R. AS, I. 1925, pp. 122-125.

75. B. S. 245-48; F. A. 214b-217b; T. M. 149a et. seq.

the Mughals were not to be so lightly forgotten and at all events Akbar was intent on the conquest of the Deccan. With this end in view he had already laid siege to Asir and Ahmadnagar⁷⁶ and wanted to prepare the ground for the conquest of Bijāpur and Golconda⁷⁷ and ultimately of the Hindu kingdoms of the south.

The news of the fall of Ahmadnagar and the storm of Asir soon after, alarmed the sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda, who clearly saw themselves as the next victims of the victorious Mughal arms. Embassies calculated to placate Akbar were accordingly sent to him by both the governments.⁷⁸ Alarmed at the growing power of the Mughals in the Deccan, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, in addition to the ambassador sent to conciliate Akbar, consented to give his daughter in marriage to Akbar's son prince Dāniyāl.⁷⁹ Akbar sent Mīr Jamāl-ud-dīn Husain to Bijāpur to complete the negotiations for the marriage. It seems, however, that the princess and her friends were averse to this match and Ibrāhīm was averse to acknowledge the suzerainty of Akbar. Only escape lay in keeping the negotiations pending and thus in postponing the evil day. The result was that, Mīr Husain "got every year three to four hundred thousand pagodas from Bijāpur and Golconda".⁸⁰ He made full use of this opportunity and stayed in the Deccan for about four years, completely ignoring the mission on which he was sent by Akbar. Annoyed at the absence of his ambassador and the complete silence observed by him about his embassy, Akbar sent Asad Beg to

76. Akbarnāma, III. 1157, 1168. The internal struggle at Ahmadnagar continued. Chand Bibī was murdered by one of her Abyssinian rivals and Ahmadnagar was captured by the Mughals (April 1601). Akbarnāma, III. 1157-59; Ferishta II. 323. Asir too surrendered about the same time. Akbarnāma III. 1168-70; F. A. 244a-b.

77. "The sole idea of Shāhīnshāh was to clear the territory of Ahmadnagar of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion, and then to prevail over Bijāpur, Golconda and Bīdar." Akbarnāma III. 1183; also cf. 616.

78. Cf. Akbarnāma III. 1171, 1183; Smith, 313.

79. Ferishta I. 516. Cf. Akbarnāma III. 1171, 1176.

80. Asad Beg, 50a.

Bijāpur with a commission to bring back the Mīr with the promised bride and an order not to stop at the 'Ādilshāhī capital for more than one night. Asad Khān was immensely charmed with the city of Bijāpur, where he learnt the use of tobacco, but could not stay there as he was under orders to start for the Mughal court at once.⁸¹ So Asad fetched the bride from her home along with Mīr Jamāl-ud-dīn Husain and Ferishta the historian and made her over to prince Dāniyāl who espoused her on the banks of the Godavari (June 1604).⁸² Asad Beg was once again sent on a mission to the Deccan with "royal farmans addressed to the governors of the provinces of the Dakhin, namely, Bijāpur, Golconda, Bīdar and the Carnātics."⁸³ The object of this mission was to collect choice and rare elephants and jewels from the princes of the Deccan. Soon after this, Akbar died mourning the death of his son prince Dāniyāl.

While Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was engaged in negotiations with the Mughals, he was also busy otherwise. In 1604 he dispatched an embassy to the 'Rājā' of Chandragiri.⁸⁴ This meant that the two sovereigns though formerly irreconcilable foes were willing to become friends in the face of a common enemy. Probably Bijāpur went to the length of making a defensive alliance with the Hindu king against the ambitious schemes of the Mughal Emperor, as Bijāpur in its turn had been invited by the Portuguese Viceroy, with further requests to seek the co-operation of other sultāns of Deccan.⁸⁵ These activities of the kings of the Deccan clearly show that they regarded the imperialistic designs of Akbar with suspicion, against which they attempted to band themselves. It was, therefore, with a sigh of relief that they welcomed the news of Akbar's death. They, however, sent their ambassadors to the

81. Asad Beg, 49b.

82. Cf. Asad Beg. 45a-b; B. S. 383, 256-57; Ferishta I. 516; Smith 313; *barnāma* III 1239-40.

83. Asad Beg. 67a. 84. A. D. V. 340.

85. J. B. R. A. S. I. 1925, pp. 122-125.

Mughal court at the time of Jahāngīr's coronation,⁸⁶ displaying their friendly attitude towards the Mughal Empire.

Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar: Rise of Malik 'Ambar:— After the murder of Chānd Bibī and the sack of Ahmadnagar, the Nizāmshāhī kingdom was saved from extinction by the genius of Malik 'Ambar the head of the Abyssinian party in the kingdom. He remained faithful to the old dynasty, and rallying the remains of the army round him proclaimed a member of the royal family as Murtaza Nizām Shāh II with Kharkī as his capital. He made common cause with his rival Miyān Rājū and stemmed the tide of Mughal advance;⁸⁷ and he also recovered some of the lost provinces of the original Nizāmshāhī kingdom. His work was facilitated by favourable circumstances, for soon after Jahāngīr's accession prince Khusru revolted, which demanded the attention of the Mughal emperor.⁸⁸

After Khusru was subdued, Jahāngīr had time to attend to Malik 'Ambar and a Mughal army under prince Parvīz and Khān Khānān was directed towards Ahmadnagar. An Imperial ambassador was sent to the 'Adilshāhī court at Bijāpur⁸⁹ presumably to ensure 'Adilshāhī neutrality. But the imperial diplomacy did not succeed. Malik Ambar, being unable to cope with the Mughals single-handed, appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help. Ibrāhīm, on his part, being anxious to ensure the safety of a buffer state, handed over the fort of Kandhār to Malik 'Ambar and in

86. Laet; De Imperio 172; Tuzuk I. 110.

87. Grant Duff, I. 77; P. D. V. 146; Ferishta II, 324-327; T. M. 235a-236b; F. A. 267b-270a; T. M. 234a-b. The Futuhat throws a new and interesting light on the early life of Malik 'Ambar. He was one of the lieutenants of the Nizāmshāhī general, Changiz Khān. After the first Mughal invasion of Ahmadnagar he came to Bijāpur and was hospitably received by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. He returned to the Nizāmshāhī kingdom after the fall of Ahmadnagar and then rose to eminence. F. A. 266b-267b.

88. For Khusru's rebellion see *Beni Prasad*, 138 et. seq.

89. 'Tuzuk I. 161-63;

addition dispatched 10,000 horse to help him.⁹⁰ The Mughals were repulsed. Khān Khānān, the imperial commander-in-chief, retreated to Burhānpur and Ahmadnagar was recovered by Malik 'Ambar.⁹¹ Khān Khānān fell into disgrace and the Deccan command devolved upon Khān Jahān Lodī. The new imperial general was accompanied by Rājā Mansingh and Adbullāh Khān, the governor of Gujarāt. But even this formidable array of Mughal officers was defeated by Malik 'Ambar.⁹²

Thus Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar were just learning to appreciate the lessons of unity, when Ibrāhīm became jealous of Malik 'Ambar and viewed unfavourably the power he was acquiring. He also disapproved of the way in which 'Ambar treated his king.⁹³ The result was, that about 1613, Ibrāhīm, though not explicitly going back on his union with Malik 'Ambar, sent an ambassador to Jahāngir's court offering submission and showed his willingness to recover for the Mughals their lost Deccan territories.⁹⁴ In the meanwhile, the Mughals had again come into the Deccan under prince Khurram and Khān Khānān and beaten back Malik 'Ambar who had now left only Daulatābād and the surrounding districts in his possession.⁹⁵ At this time Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh again "professed loyalty" to Afzal Khān, the Mughal ambassador and sent presents to Jahāngir who was encamped at Ajmer⁹⁶ (Aug. 1615). Possibly this placating of the Mughals with submission was the result of a foresighted policy. About this time, Ibrāhīm began casting greedy eyes towards the decaying kingdom of Bīdar and safeguarded against any possibility of Mughal intervention in his conquest of Bīdar, by his submissive attitude. So, in 1619, Ibrāhīm marched

90. B. S. 264; F. A. 270b-271a. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh cemented this alliance by giving the daughter of a servant of his in marriage to Malik 'Ambar's son.

91. Tuzuk I. 179-81; Iqbalnāma, 38-39; B. S. 266-70.

92. B. S. 271-72; Tuzuk I. 220-21; Iqbalnāma, 65-66.

93. Cf. B. S. 270-71; Ferishta II. 327.

94. Tuzuk I. 234. 95. B. S. 272; Tuzuk I. 311-14.

96. Tuzuk I. 368; E. T. I. 250.

towards Bīdar, reduced it and incorporated the Barīdshāhī kingdom as a part of the 'Ādilshāhī territories.⁹⁷

Meanwhile Malik 'Ambar again raised his head. Jahāngir and prince Khurram were busy at Court, and the Mughal captains, left in command of the Deccan, fell into mutual wrangles and recriminations.⁹⁸ Malik 'Ambar seeing his opportunity, succeeded in forming once more an alliance with Bijāpur and Golconda, and calling up his Marāthā bands, mustered 60,000 troops in all. He chose his moment well and wisely and succeeded in using it to hinder the Mughal advance in the Deccan; he drove the Mughals from the Nizāmshāhī territory into Berar. Malik, following the Mughal troops, remained with the combined army for six months in that part of the country, and annexed several districts of Berar and Khandesh.⁹⁹ Matters were in a critical state for the Mughals when prince Khurram was sent to punish 'Ambar and restore order. The prince was remarkably successful against the Deccanis, who, unable to make any resistance, fled as Khurram approached to reinforce the Mughal troops. The result was that "after much entreaty on the part of the rebels, it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the imperial officers, a space of fourteen *cos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of fifty lacks of rupees should be sent to the imperial treasury."¹⁰⁰

Bijapur and Ahmadnagar: The battle of Bhātūrī;—While Malik 'Ambar was being beaten back by the Mughals, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was engaged in subduing some rebels near Adonī. He quelled the rising and captured the fort of Karnūl in addition.¹⁰¹ Soon after this, Shāh Jahān broke into rebellion, and the subsequent confusion that followed in the Mughal affairs in the Deccan once more enabled Malik 'Ambar to gain the upper hand and annex fresh

97. B. S. 272-73; *E. I. M.* (1927-28) 26; F. A. 280a-281a.

98. Beni Prasad 331.

99. Tuzuk II. 155-56, 188-89; B. S. 273.

100. Tuzuk II. 207-08, 101. B. S. 273.

territory. He pushed¹⁰² on his boundaries 'to within a short distance of Ahmadnagar. Shāh Jahān tried to gain support from Malik 'Ambar, but the astute diplomat would not help a forlorn fugitive and thus bring down on himself the wrath of the Mughal Emperor, especially at a time when he was meditating war against Bijāpur. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh also refused to grant any assistance to the rebel prince.¹⁰³ Shāh Jahān's revolt left Malik 'Ambar the master of the situation and he no longer pretended friendship with his neighbours of Bijāpur and Golconda. Till now the Deccan kingdoms knew the value of unity. Malik 'Ambar, himself, made humble requests to Bijāpur to help him; and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, seeing the necessity of preserving Ahmadnagar between Bijāpur and the Mughal Empire, readily granted that help. But Malik 'Ambar assumed an insolent attitude towards Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, after his latest success over the Mughals.¹⁰⁴ In addition to this, there came into existence at the Bijāpur court, a school of thought viewing that Ibrāhīm had helped 'Ambar to become too powerful and that, therefore, he should now join the Mughals and thus adjust the balance of power.¹⁰⁵ There was also the fact that one of Ibrāhīm's wives was said to be in conspiracy with Malik 'Ambar to depose the sultān and place her son Darvīsh on the throne.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, there was the aggressive attitude of Malik 'Ambar who marching into Bijāpur territory openly showed his hostility.¹⁰⁷ All these factors resulted in Ibrāhīm's making an offer of alliance to the Mughals. Prince Parvīz, who had been appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, had already sent envoys to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh offering him Mughal friendship.¹⁰⁷ He made a recommendation to the Emperor that between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, the choice for an imperial alliance should fall on the latter.

Malik 'Ambar also, at the same time, was straining every nerve to gain the friendship of the Mughals. He offered

102. Beni Prasad 369-70. 103. F. A. 287a-b.

104. Cf. S. B. 68. 105. P. D. V. 443.

106. Cf. Iqbalnāma, 223. 107. F. A. 287a-b.

personally to wait upon Mahābat Khan, the Mughal general in the Deccan, and also agreed to send his son in the imperial service, with a promise of ever-lasting fidelity and devotion. There was thus a race between Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Malik 'Ambar to be the first to form an alliance with the Mughals. Malik 'Ambar sent his envoy 'Alī Sher to Mahābat Khan, professing obedience to the Emperor and requesting Mughal help in the war against Bijāpur in which he was then engaged. But mainly due to the good offices of prince Parvīz Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's cause prevailed. Mahābat Khān, the imperial commander-in-chief, rejected the proposals of Malik 'Ambar, and decided in favour of Bijāpur.¹⁰⁸ The reason why the Mughals allied themselves with the Bijāpurīs was possibly to wedge the Ahmadnagar territory between Mughal Deccan and Bijāpur. Malik 'Ambar, with the help of his Marāthā 'bargīrs'¹⁰⁹ had proved too troublesome to the Mughals. It was, therefore, natural that they should first want to remove this thorn in their side.

After the alliance was concluded, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, true to his offer, sent Mullā Muhammad Lārī at the head of 5,000 cavalry to join the imperial troops.¹¹⁰ Alarmed at this active alliance, Malik 'Ambar left Kharkī, sent his family to Daulatābād and proceeded to the Golconda frontier, ostensibly to recover some payments,¹¹¹ but really to conclude a counter alliance with Golconda.

Malik 'Ambar arrived at an understanding with Muhammad Qutb Shāh by which the latter agreed to maintain his neutrality in the present struggle. This done Malik suddenly marched towards Bīdar, made a surprise attack on the city and plundered it. He even advanced towards the 'Ādilshāhī capital itself. Most of the 'Ādilshāhī cavalry was

108. Iqbalnāma, 223; Tuzuk II. 296.

109 At first the Maratha mercenaries recruited in the Nizāmshāhī Army were known by this name, but later on it became in popular speech the designation of a Maratha trooper. Grant Duff I. 61.

110. Tuzuk II. 296; Iqbalnāma, 224.

111. Iqbalnāma, 223-24.

at this time with the Mughals at Burhānpur. So Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh did not engage Malik 'Ambar in an encounter, but shut himself up in the capital and sent word to the Mughal camp at Burhanpur for his relief. Undaunted Malik 'Ambar laid siege to Bijāpur.¹¹²

Muhammad Lārī pressed the imperial officers to allow him to depart. Mahabat Khān seeing that the situation was serious allowed him to start for Bijāpur and also sent with him Lashkar Khān, a Mughal officer, with some imperial troops to oppose Malik 'Ambar. Malik 'Ambar once again tried to isolate the 'Ādilshāhīs. And to this end he wrote to Mahābat Khān. He said the quarrel between Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and himself was not of such consequence that the imperialists should interfere. As an additional inducement to the Mughals to withdraw their support from Bijāpur, he made further assertions of his loyalty to the Emperor.¹¹³ But his entreaties were not heeded; he was, therefore, forced to take some decided course. He raised the siege of Bijāpur and marched northwards. He succeeded so well in keeping his movements secret, that his enemy had no exact knowledge of his whereabouts. So, one day, he suddenly appeared on the edge of the imperial and 'Ādilshāhī camp, at a place called Bhātūrī, about eight miles from Ahmadnagar. A battle was fought and the combined army defeated¹¹⁴ (Nov. 1624). Mullā Muhammad Lārī, the 'Ādilshāhī general lost his life. Thus ended the battle of Bhātūrī.

After the battle of Bhātūrī, Malik 'Ambar with his victorious army marched through Bijāpur territory unhindered, till he came within reach of the capital itself, on the outskirts of which was Ibrāhīm's favourite resort Naoraspur. This Malik 'Ambar stormed.

He next laid siege to Sholāpur, which had long

112. Iqbalnāma 234-35; F. A. 288b.

113. Iqbalnāma, 235-36.

114. Iqbalnāma, 236-37; F. A. 289a-291b; B. S. 274; Jedhe.

been a bone of contention between the two kingdoms, and having brought guns from Daulatābād, stormed the town which soon surrendered.¹¹⁵ But, during Malik 'Ambar's most successful moments one of his powerful nobles left him. At this time Shahājī came over to Bijāpur nursing a grudge against 'Ambar for not having recognised his services during the struggle against the enemies. He was welcomed at the Bijāpur court and given a 'mansab.'¹¹⁶ Another person at Bijāpur who wanted to take revenge on Ambar was Muhammad Amīn, the son-in-law of Mullā Muhammad Lārī. But, before the two could induce Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to take up arms once more against their common enemy, Malik 'Ambar died on May 14, 1626.¹¹⁷

The Scene Changes:—Thus the political affairs of the Deccan during the first quarter of the seventeenth century culminated in the battle of Bhātūrī. It was a great triumph for Malik 'Ambar. The Mughals were beaten back. 'Ādil Shāh was awed and Malik 'Ambar seemed fairly on his way to reinstate the past glory of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom. But soon after his decisive victory, he died. He was held in great respect by the Deccan kings and was the only person who could form a confederacy in the Deccan against the Mughals, who were never able to gain a firm foot-hold in that country as long as he lived. He went near to recreating the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, which, had he lived a few years longer, could have been able to bear the brunt of the Mughal arms, to form an effective barrier between Delhi and Bijāpur. How far the Deccan might have been united is, however, a matter for historical speculation. With Malik 'Ambar's death, the last capable defender of Ahmadnagar, we may even say of the Deccan, passed away; after him, no one could succeed in emphasising the fact that unity alone could enable the Deccan

115. Iqbalnāma 237-38; B. S. 274; F. A. 292a; Jedhe.

116. S. B. V. 1-12; Shahājī, 62.

117. Jedhe : It appears from Shivabbārat that the military preparations made against Malik 'Ambar were utilised by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh by sending Shahājī on a campaign against Carnātak and the Keral territory and to subdue the Marātha Sardār Mudhoji of Phaltan. S. B. V. 17-19

sultanates to repel the common enemy. "Alike as a soldier, a general, diplomat and an administrator, Malik 'Ambar was unrivalled in greatness...He controlled the unruly spirits of the Deccan and to the end of his life maintained his position and governed with ability. History has no parallel of a man of so humble antecedents rising to such eminence."¹¹⁸

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh did not survive Malik 'Ambar for long; he died on September 12, 1627.¹¹⁹ Ibrāhīm was a man of learning and taste and well-versed in poetry. Music had great fascination for him, and following the traditional custom of musicians, he too became a devotee of the goddess Saraswatī, though in religious matters he had Sunni inclinations. He was not a bigoted Sunni, but like Akbar, liberal in his religious views and was known as the Jagadguru.¹²⁰

Though during the early years of his reign the kingdom was fraught with internal discord, most of the last years of his rule were spent in peace, the theatre of war being always on the borderline between the Mughals and Malik 'Ambar. He extended the boundaries of his dominions and at the time of his death left a large treasury and a strong army. Altogether he was one of the best of the 'Ādilshāhī kings and his memory is still preserved with respect in the country where he ruled.

11.8 Iqbalnāma, 271-72.

119. B. S. 282; Grant Duff I. 58; *Comment* 75.

120. B. S. 279.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE INTRODUCTION OF RĀSIS IN INDIAN ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA P. V. KANE

The problem of the introduction of the twelve Zodiacal Signs in Indian astronomy and astrology has not been yet satisfactorily solved. Western scholars are generally inclined to hold that astrology based on Rāsis was borrowed from the Greeks in the 3rd or 4th century A. D.¹ In this connection three important questions arise, firstly whether the system of rāsis was developed in India as an indigenous theory or was it borrowed from a foreign source; secondly, when was the system, whether indigenous or borrowed, introduced, and thirdly, if it was borrowed, from whom it was borrowed and when.

Recently when there was a movement to celebrate the lapse of 2000 years of the Vikrama era, I suggested to certain scholars that one of the important questions that should be tackled in connection with the books planned should relate to the introduction of rāsis in India. I gave several reasons for my request. That question has an important bearing on the very existence of a king Vikramāditya in about 57 B. C. and on the chronology of many literary works in Sanskrit. A famous verse states that nine gems adorned the court of Vikrama, among whom were the famous poet Kālidāsa, Amarasiṃha, the author of a lexicon, Varāhamihira and Vararuci. Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* takes the Śake year 427 (505-6 A. D.) for his starting point. So he must have flourished about that time. Varāhamihira bases his astrology on the rāsi system and quotes many predecessors. So it is clear that the rāsi

1. Vide Jacobi in *ZDMG.*, 30 p. 302 at pp. 306 ff, Dr. Jolly in *Recht und Sitte* (p. 43 of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's English translation), Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 229.

system could not in any event be regarded as introduced later than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. There are many scholars who hold that Kālidāsa flourished under Candragupta II (of the Gupta dynasty) who was styled Vikramāditya and who reigned from about 375 A. D. to 413 A. D. or under Skandagupta (455 to 480 A. D.). If these views be accepted and if it be held that at least Kālidāsa graced the court of Vikramāditya then the existence of a Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. at whose court Kālidāsa flourished becomes almost impossible. Kālidāsa shows acquaintance with astrology based on rāsis. He states that Raghu was born when five planets were *ucca* (in exaltation) and not too near the sun, which was an indication of the greatness of his fortune (*Raghuvaṃśa*, III. 13). In the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* III (at end) Kālidāsa speaks of Mars approaching a rāśi after being retrograde (*Aṅgarako rāsimiṣa*). In order that Kālidāsa who knew rāśi astrology should flourish at the court of Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. it must be established by evidence that rāśi astrology was well-known in India in the 2nd century B. C. at the latest. I regret to find that in the papers published in Marathi in connection with the 2000th anniversary of Vikrama's era this question has not been dealt with by anybody in a thorough-going manner. I shall feel extremely glad if a competent scholar examines Babylonian, Assyrian or Egyptian evidence and also the evidence afforded by Sanskrit Literature, goes into this question thoroughly and arrives at definite conclusions on satisfactory evidence. In the forthcoming 4th volume of my *History of Dharmaśāstra* I have to deal with the topic of *Muhūrta* and I am myself engaged in collecting evidence on this subject. In this brief paper I shall point out only some of the lines on which one will have to proceed in arriving at satisfactory conclusions in this matter.

It is to be noted that in ancient India a sort of astrology of based upon the *nakṣatras* only prevailed. The R̥gveda in describing the marriage of Sūryā states that the marriage dowry consisting of cows, was driven on the Aghās (Maghā nakṣatra) and that she was married on the Arjunīs (Pūrvā Falgunī). The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* says that a daughter

should be given in marriage on the Niṣṭyā (Svāti nakṣatra) if the father desires that she should be her husband's favourite wife (I. 5. 2. 3). The same Brāhmaṇa says that ploughing was to be begun on Maitra (i. e. Anurādhā) nakṣatra. The sūtra literature also prescribes that several things should be done on certain nakṣatras. For example, the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* says (II. 1. 9-10) that *Āgnyādheya* (the consecration of Vedic fires) should be done when the moon is in the Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīras, the Falgunis (Pūrvā and Uttarā), Viśākhā and on the Uttarā Bhādrapadā.² The *Āśvalāyana-grhya* says (I. 4.1) that tonsure (*caula*), upanayana, *godāna* (or Keśānta) and marriage should be performed in the time of the north-ward path of the Sun, in the bright half (of a month) and on an auspicious nakṣatra.³ All the sūtras are silent about Rāsis. Manu and Yājñavalkya in their extensive smṛtis have not even once referred to rāsis. In the *Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra* (edited by Dr. Caland, 1927), which knows week days and nine *grahas*, rāsis are not mentioned, though certain astrological matters based on nakṣatras are noted (IV. 14) viz. the constellation on which a man is born, *karma*, Sāṅghātika, Sāmudāyika and Vaināśika are noted.⁴ The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (II. 166) contains a brief summary of a very extensive mythical work on astronomy and astrology in which these terms are explained. It is stated there that the nakṣatra on which a man is born as also the 10th and 19th nakṣatras from the actual nakṣatra of birth are called ' *janma-nakṣatras*,' the second nakṣatra from all these three causes prosperity (i. e. the 2nd, 11th and 20th), the third from the same three causes adversity, the 4th from the same is *kṣemya* (causing happiness), the 5th is called *pratyari* (enemical), the sixth *sādhaka*

2. अग्न्यधेयम् । कृत्तिकासु रोहिण्यां मृगशिरसि फल्गुनीषु विशाखयो
दत्तरयोः प्रोष्ठपदयोः । आश्व. श्रौ. II. 1. 9-10; compare आप. श्रौ. V. 3.2ff,

3. उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः ।
आश्व. गृ. I. 4.1; compare आप. गृ. I. 1, 2 and Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā
vi. 8.23.

4. जन्मकर्मसाङ्गातिकसामुदायिकवैनाशिकर्क्षसंस्थेषु । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र iv. 14.

(helper), the 7th is *naidhana* (death-dealing), the 8th is *maitra* (friendly) and the 9th is called very friendly (paramamitra) and that all auspicious rites and actions should be performed on the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th and 9th.

Kautilya appears to be unaware of *rāsis*, though he condemns too much reliance on *nakṣatra* astrology.⁵ The *Yogayātrā* (IX. 1-2) of Varāhamihira explains the above terms somewhat differently viz. ' the *nakṣatra* of birth is called *ādyā* (the first), the 10th *nakṣatra* from it is called *Karma*, the 16th from the first is called *sāṅghātika*, the 18th is styled *samudāya*, the 23rd is styled *Vaināśika* and the 25th is called *mānasa*. Ordinary men are concerned only with six *nakṣatras*, while the king is concerned with three additional ones viz. *jāti* (caste ?), *deśa* (the *nakṣatra* governing his country) and *abhiṣeka* (the *nakṣatra* on which his coronation took place).⁶

The *Mahābhārata* is silent about *rāsis* and mentions astronomical phenomena in relation to *nakṣatras* alone (e. g. vide *Ādi*. 71.34, 221.85, *Vanaparva* 230. 8-11, 277.15, 281.6, 291.66; *Bhīṣma* 3.27-33, *Anuśāsana* 64 &c.). There is one doubtful verse. In the *Vanaparva* (Bombay edition) 190. 90-91 it is stated 'when the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter and *Tiṣya* (*Puṣya*) will come together on the same *rāsi*, then *Kṛta* age will begin.' In the first place, it has to be remembered that this verse does not occur in many Mss., secondly that it occurs with slight variation in several *Purāṇas* (e. g. *Bhāgavata* XII-

5. नक्षत्रमतिप्रचुञ्चन्तं बालमर्थोतिवर्तते । अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र ix. 4 (last verse but one).

6. जन्मक्षमाद्यं दशमं तु कर्म साक्षातिकं षोडशमृशमाद्यात् । अष्टादशं स्यात्समुदायसंज्ञं वैनाशिकं विंशतितस्तृतीयम् ॥ यत्पञ्चविंशं खलु मानसं तत् षडृश एवं पुष्पस्तु सर्वः । राज्ञो नवर्क्षाणि वदन्ति जातिदेशाभिषेकैः सहितानि तानि ॥ योगयात्रा ix. 1-2 (ed. by Jagadish Lal, Lahore 1944).

Similar verses occur in the *बृहद्योगयात्रा* of *बराहमिहिर* iv, 14-15 (from (ms.) in the *Bhau Daji* collection at the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library).

7. यदा सूर्यश्च चन्द्रश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती ।

एकराशौ समेष्यन्ति प्रपत्स्यति तदा कृतम् ॥ वनपर्व 190-91.

2.24, *Vāyu* 99.413), thirdly that the *Vāyupurāṇa* reads 'eka. rātre' for 'ekarāśau,' the former being a better reading. It appears therefore that this verse is a later addition, probably from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, since in Vanaparva 191.16 the *Purāṇa* declared by *Vāyu* is expressly mentioned. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyā 15.3) 'Karkāṭaka lagna' is mentioned (in the Madras Law Journal Press edition), but it is wanting in Gorressio's text. Therefore these two verses from the Epics cannot be relied upon for proving the ancient age of the theory of rāśis.

Inscriptions do not enable us to carry the occurrence of rāśis to a period earlier than the 5th century A. D. In Dr. R. C. Majumdar's volume on 'Champā' there is an inscription (at end No. 7 pp. 10-11) which must be dated between 478 to 578 A. D. (as it expressly states that when 400 years of the Śaka era had elapsed) and in which the words *lagna*, *horā*, *drekkaṇa*, *navāṃśa*, *triṃśāṃśa* occur, showing thereby that the full-fledged astrology based on rāśis had been carried to the Far East in Champā before the 6th century A. D. It appears that on certain stone railings at Buddha-Gayā belonging to about the first century B. C. the several rāśis are represented symbolically though not in the same sequence as in Varāhamihira's works (vide Dr. Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol. II pp. 90-93 and plates 43 a to i).

We know from the 13th rock Edict that before 256 B. C. the great Emperor Aśoka had sent missionaries to five kings of the West viz. to Antiochos (Antiyoga Yonaraja of the inscription), Ptolemy (Turamāya or Tulamaya), Magas, Antigonas (Antekina), and Alexander (Alikasudara), who ruled respectively over Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. So if rāśis were borrowed by India at all they could have done so in the 3rd century B. C. from Syria or Egypt.

Sir Norman Lockyer in 'Dawn of Astronomy' notes (p. 407) that almost all the twelve signs of the Zodiac were established in Babylon about 1000 B. C. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in his work 'Babylonian Life and History' (p. 211) says that the early Babylonian astronomers were well

acquainted with the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the 36 *Dekans*. This last word seems to be the same as the word *Drkkāṇa* or *Drekkāṇa* employed in the astrological works of *Varāhamihira* and others (for $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *rāśi*). *Jastrow* in 'Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria' (1915) p. 262 remarks that the Greeks took over the astrological system perfected in the Euphrates valley and grafted it on to their own astronomy. *Sir F. Petrie* in 'Religious Life in Ancient Egypt' remarks (on p. 204), 'Herodotus says that each month and day belonged to a special God and by the day of birth the fate of the person is determined. The development of horoscopes seems to have been mainly in the XIX dynasty. They are figured on the temples of *Ramessu II* and' the tomb of *Ramessu VI*'.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhiṭā* II. 14 notes that the *Yavanas* are *Mlechhas*, that astrology has been well-cultivated among them and that they are honoured like *ṛṣis*. He mentions a writer called *Yavaneśvara* and *Utpala* in his commentaries quotes at least two hundred verses (mostly in the *Upajāti* or *Indravajrā* metre) from *Yavaneśvara*. It is not unlikely that *Yavaneśvara* was a Greek who was a bilingualist and wrote his work in the first centuries of the Christian era. The *Besnagar* column Inscription of the *Bhāgvata* *Heliodora*, son of *Diya*, and many other records show that many Greeks had become Indianized in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. (Vide *W. W. Tarn's* 'Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 390). *Varāhamihira* cites non-Sanskrit names for the twelve signs (*Bṛhajjātaka* I. 8 'Kriyatāvuri &c.'), for the twelve houses (I. 15-18, such as *kaṇṭaka*, *kendra*, *Paṇaphara*, *Āpoklima*, *Jāmitra* &c.), and for the planets (II. 2-3, *Holi* for the Sun, *Āra* for Mars, *Koṇa* for Saturn, *Jīva* for Jupiter, *Āsphujit* for Venus &c.). These and other non-Sanskrit terms have to be carefully studied with reference to Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek astrological terms and theories. What a close study of these will lead to may be reserved for treatment in another place.

THE LEGEND OF THE ĀPTYA - DEVATĀS - TRITA, DVITA & EKATA.¹

BY DR. H. R. KARNIK

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (SBR) I-2-3 opens with the legend of the origin of the 'Āptya' Devatās to whom the water used for cleansing is to be offered ceremonially, thus assigning a symbolical reason for this offering :

"Formerly Agni had a four-fold form. That Agni, whom the Gods chose for the office of the Hotṛ-priest passed away. The second and third forms of Agni suffered from the same fate. The fourth form, however, lay concealed in the waters for fear of meeting with the same fate as his predecessors did. The Gods knew that he had concealed himself in the waters and dragged him out per force. This Agni, thereupon, spat on the waters because the latter had not offered him any protection. The Gods took this Agni much against his will. The *niṣṭhivana* served as the *Vīrya* or the germinal fluid and from that were produced the deities Trita, Dvita and Ekata. As they were produced from the waters, they were called 'Āptya'.

"They wandered with Indra as the priest wanders with the king.² When Indra was about to kill the three-headed Viśva-rūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, the Āptyas being his associates knew of this intention of their leader. The Tvāṣṭra Viśvarūpa was the sister's son of the Asuras but served as Purohita of the Gods. Indra killed him because he secretly contrived to let the oblations go to the Asuras instead of to the Gods. But

1. The first paper on this topic was published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1947.

2. "*Yathā idam brāhmaṇaḥ rājānam anucarati*". This probably refers to the then usual custom of the priest invariably accompanying his royal patron even in the latter's expeditions. The priest, on these occasions, offered prayers to the deities for the victory of his patron.

by killing this Tvāṣṭra Viśva-rūpa Indra was guilty of the most hideous crime of *Brahma-hatyā*. He was, however, acquitted of the guilt as he was a God. The sin of *Brahma-hatyā* was transferred to the Āptyas because they were the abettors in the crime.³ But how was that sin to be transferred: The priests hit upon the plan of the 'sacrifice.' The sacrificer transfers any guilt or sin incurred during the preparation of the rice-cake to the Āptyas when the water used for cleansing the dish and the fingers is poured out for them as an offering.

"But the Āptyas were not ready to receive the guilt themselves; why should they? The *brahma-hatyā* was committed by Indra. They simply knew of Indra's intention of killing the Tvāṣṭra since they were his companions. They were not instrumental in actually killing the demon-priest. Why should they, then, be charged with the sin of *brahma-hatyā*? Why should it be transferred to them? They could not, however, revolt against what was being done at the instance or with the knowledge of Indra, their leader and the lord of the Gods. They, therefore, condescended to the transfer of the guilt to themselves but were not prepared to bear it at all. They, in their turn, hit upon a device for transferring the guilt so transferred to them to one who would make an offering without a gift to the priest i. e. the usual *dakṣiṇā*. One should not, therefore, make an offering without the *dakṣiṇā* to the officiating priest for otherwise the sin of *brahma-hatyā* would be transferred to him."⁴

The legend is a symbolical narrative for the following reasons. It explains the origin of the Āptyas - Trita, Dvita and Ekata from the *niṣṭhīvāna* of Agni whom the waters did not protect from the Gods. The legend offers no explanation for the fright or fear of Agni. The fourth form of Agni concealed himself from the Gods as he was not prepared to officiate as the Hotṛ - priest of the Gods. In evading this office he had the fate of his predecessors in mind. He

3. "Upaivema eno gacchatu yasya vadhasyāvedīṣuḥ".

4. "Tasmān na adakṣiṇena haviṣā yajeta. āptya u ha tasmin mṛjate y adakṣiṇena haviṣā yajate".

probably felt that their fate was due to their being chosen as Hotṛ - priest by the Gods. He evidently did not wish that the same fate should overtake him. He, therefore, concealed himself in the immediately available hiding place viz., the waters and expected that the waters would not betray him to the Gods. The Gods, however, were determined to have Agni, at least in its fourth and last form, as their hotṛ-priest. They found him concealed in the waters, dragged him out and made him accept the priestly office. This naturally enraged Agni. He could not, however ventilate his anger on the Gods as they were too powerful for him. Having been convinced that his present fate, which was unwholesome from his point of view, was due to his being betrayed by the waters he was wild with them. Nobody could find fault with Agni in this respect. To escape from the Gods Agni concealed himself in the waters whom he thought to be the safest place of refuge. He least expected that this 'Safest place of refuge' would open its portals to the Gods and thus betray him to them. When the least expected became a reality and when Agni found himself in a situation which he had tried to avoid upto then, he lost all control over himself and spat on the treacherous waters, thus expressing his utter disregard for them and his complete disapproval of their perfidious conduct. In this Agni has shown a perfectly natural trait. How many of us would control ourselves if placed in the situation as Agni! We have to absolve Agni of weakness of mind. It was not a weakness but a natural re-action to the treachery of the waters. Such a faithless conduct could go hardly unpunished in the domain of worldly or practical wisdom.

But, out of evil cometh good. The treachery of the Gods proved to be the cause of the origin of the Āptyas. Agni spat on the faithless waters. It was the *niṣṭhivana* of Agni, the God of Fire. As such it could not be wasted. It served to be the germinal fluid which the penitent waters did absorb into themselves and gave birth to the Āptyas—Trita, Dvita and Ekata. The legend, thus, symbolically explains the origin of the Āptyas.

The symbolical character of the legend lies in another respect also. It states the reasons for offering the water used for cleansing the dish and the fingers soiled during the preparation of the *puroḍāśa* to the Āptyas. The Āptyas, particularly the eldest of them, Trita, assisted Indra in his campaign against the Tvāṣṭra Viśvarūpa, the three-headed demon-priest. With the help of Trita Indra succeeded in killing this priest who, though employed by the Gods as a purohita, really served the Asuras by secretly carrying the oblations to them. Such double-crossing of the Gods by their own purohita the Gods could not tolerate. Indra at their instance and with the assistance of the Āptya Trita chopped off the heads of the demon-priest and thus punished him in the manner he rightly deserved. But soon did he realise that in killing the demon-priest he committed the heinous crime of *brahma-hatyā*—killing a Brāhmaṇa and there too a Brāhmaṇa who officiated as a priest. He was terribly afraid of facing the consequences. The Gods also sincerely desired that their Lord and leader should be acquitted of the guilt and thought that this could be done by transferring the guilt to some one. They chanced upon the Āptyas who had abetted Indra in his crime. They thereupon transferred the guilt to the Āptyas who had no other alternative but to accede to this transfer since the motif behind it was to absolve Indra of the sin of *brahmahatyā*. When the sacrificer pours out the water used for cleansing the dish and fingers in honour of the Āptyas he transfers whatever sin he might have incurred during the preparation of the *puroḍāśa* to them.

It is to be noted here that the legend declares that the preparation of the ceremonial rice-cake involved sin. As the offering of a rice-cake to one deity or another formed the main part of a Vedic sacrifice and as the preparation of such a rice-cake is declared here and in many other passages from the Brāhmaṇas to be an undertaking that involved sin or guilt it can be safely presumed that even in the days of the Brāhmaṇas public opinion was gradually growing against the institution of sacrifice. There were not a few cultured and intelligent men who looked upon the Vedic sacrifice with abhorrence and

contempt and who in course of time led the revolt against that institution which had lost all of its glory and the noble idea of 'self-sacrifice' but which had degenerated into an instrument in the hands of the priestly caste which exploited it for its ulterior purpose or end. That the Vedic sacrifice which was noble in its conception had deteriorated into a flexible lever in the hands of the priestly community this legend itself demonstrates. If we judge the action of Indra and the Āptyas, particularly Trita, in killing the traitor Viśvarūpa by modern standards it is not at all a cognisable offence. Indra and the Āptyas could be exonerated of the crime by civilized public opinion. On the contrary they will be complimented for acting in the interest of the community by putting an end to the fifth columnist's activity in the community. But what actually do we find in the legend? Indra instead of receiving compliments from his kith and kin in whose interest he acted, is accused of a heinous crime and is terribly afraid of facing the consequences. He is relieved when the sin of *brahmahatyā* is transferred to the Āptyas. The legend thus conveys that a divinity like Indra who killed the Tvāṣṭra to remove a social evil was accused of *brahmahatyā* because he killed a priest irrespective of the fact that the victim was a demon and traitor too. This could not have been possible unless the priestly community had a tremendous hold over the institution of the sacrifice and hence over the society in the Brahmanic period.

This is further demonstrated by the third and the last part of the legend dealing with the expedient adopted by the Āptyas to transfer their guilt to some one else. Reluctant that they were to carry the guilt brought over to them for no fault of theirs, they transferred the guilt to one who would offer a gift at a sacrifice without an adequate gift (*dakṣiṇā*) to the officiating priest or priests. The legend, thereupon, sermonises that no *yajamāna* or sacrificer should offer any gift to any deity at any sacrifice without greasing the hand of the officiating priest for otherwise the sin of *brahma-hatyā* would be transferred to him. No sacrificer would like to risk this. All sacrificial offerings are, therefore, presented to the deities with adequate *dakṣiṇā* to the priest officiating at the function.

This again could not have been possible unless the priestly community influenced the functioning of the then society.

The fore-going discussion shows why this legend should be regarded as a mainly symbolical narrative. It symbolically explains (1) the origin of the Āptya Devatās—Trita, Daita and Ekata, (2) the reason for offering the water used for cleansing the dish and the fingers in honour of the Āptyas and (3) why a gift should not be made without a *dakṣiṇā* to the priest at a sacrifice.

But, what light does the legend throw upon the origin and character of the Āptyas—particularly Trita? Trita Āptya is a Ṛgvedic deity of course.⁵ He is not celebrated or praised in one entire hymn but references to him are scattered all over the *Ṛgveda* in forty-passages from twenty-nine different hymns. The *Atharva-veda* mentions Trita Āptya in some passages. Corresponding to Trita Āptya in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharva-veda* we find Thrīta or Thraetona in the *Avesta*. From these references in the *Avesta* it could be concluded that Trita is a deity belonging to the Indo-Iranian period.

From all these references no definite information could be gathered as regards the original nature of Trita Āptya. Scholars are divided as regards the nature of this Deity owing to the paucity of evidence and consequently express divergent views. Thus Roth thinks that Trita Āptya was a Water and Wind Deity; Hillebrandt regards him as the 'Deity of the bright sky'. Perry believes that he was the 'God of the storm older than Indra'. Pischel first understood him to be a 'Sea-God' or 'God of the waters', but later modified his opinion and concluded that he was only the first human healer who was later on deified.

Though opinions are divided as regards the nature of this Deity, the evidence presented by the *Ṛgveda*, the *Atharva-veda* and the *Avesta* agrees in respect of Trita's origin and activi-

5. See Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, Strass-burg 1897, pp 67ff. Also "The Religious Quest of India" Ed. by J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 298f.

ties. The epithet Āptya accompanies and alternates with Trita in the *R̥gveda*. It is derived from *āp* and shows that the origin of Trita lay in the waters. *R̥gveda* describes him as the associate of Indra, the Maruts and Soma. He is said to have scored a victory over Vṛtra ; in the company of Indra he slew the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and released the cows. He appears as the companion of Indra in his Soma-bout and prepares and purifies the elixir evidently for Indra. In some passages of *R̥gveda* we are told that in addition to the remarkable feat of slaying the demon he is associated with the Maruts in the thunder-storms : he finds Agni, kindles him and takes up his abode in human dwellings clearly as a form of Agni. The passages from the *Atharva-veda* add no definite information but only suggest the idea of a remote God to whom guilt or dream is transferred. In the Avesta Thrita is depicted as a man. The exploit of the Vedic Trita viz., the slaughter of the three-headed six-eyed demon or dragon is transferred to a cognate person. Thraetona who, like Thrita, is undoubtedly the Avestan counterpart of the Vedic Tritt.

Coming to the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas we notice that the Āptyas—Trita, Dvita and Ekata are mentioned together for the first time in one and the same passage. There are two passages in which such a reference occurs—one from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, viz. the passage that is discussed here and the other from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III-ii-8-10-11.⁶ Nowhere else the Āptyas are mentioned together. At *R̥v.* VIII-47-16 Dvita is mentioned beside Trita but Ekata seems to be unknown to this Veda. Sāyaṇa on *R̥v.* I-105 quotes a story of the Sātyāyanins in which the brothers Trita, Dvita and Ekata are called Ṛṣis. Trita is thrown into a well by his other two brothers. Though we get a reference to Ekata here by the side of Trita and Dvita, Ekata seems to me to be the invention of the Brāhmaṇas. This was done evidently to explain the names Trita and Dvita which have a numerical

6. Saḥ aṅgareṇa āpaḥ abhyapātayat tataḥ ekataḥ ajāyata. Saḥ, dvitīyam abhyapātayat tataḥ dvitaḥ ajāyata. saḥ tṛtīyam abhyapātayat tataḥ tritaḥ ajāyata. yad adbhyaḥ ajāyata tad āpyānām āpyatvam.

sense. Further, the two passages from the Brāhmaṇas agree as regards the origin and the nature of these deities. They were created from the waters and were the forms of Agni. The information that the Śatapatha legend gives as regards their activities is obviously based upon the cumulative evidence of the *Rgveda*, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Avesta*. The Āptyas particularly Trita — is described in the story as the companion of Indra in his fight against the three-headed six-eyed son of Tvaṣṭṛ. It should be noted that the legend does not speak of this Trita as an associate of any other deity as the *Rv.* does. Again, the legend specifically states that Trita was only an associate of Indra in his fight against the demon. He did not perform the feat himself as the *Rgveda* tells us. The *Rgveda* does not associate the transference of guilt to Trita Āptya but the Brāhmaṇa story, following the *Atharvaveda*, explicitly mentions that the sin of *brahmahatyā* of which the main actor in the drama, viz. Indra was mortally afraid, was quietly transferred to the Āptyas. The latter no doubt meekly submitted to this humiliating treatment but in their turn passed the guilt on to an impious sacrificer.

All this shows that in the Brahmanic period the origin, nature and characteristics of the Āptya devatās—Trita, Dvita and Ekata had become stabilised. The names Trita, Dvita and Ekata were interpreted for the first time in their numerical sense but the deities associated with the names were regarded as 'water and fire' deities—associates of Indra in its fight against the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, to whom the sin of '*brahma-hatyā*' was subsequently transferred. The Brāhmaṇas thus have intelligently made use of the evidence presented by the *Rgveda*, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Avesta* to stabilise the nature and characteristics of the Āptya devatās and remove the confusion or misconception about them.

The foregoing discussion on the legend about the origin of the Āptyas shows that the story is not merely a symbolical narrative but a tale telling us to what extent the priestly community dominated over the then social structure, how the

sacrifice was an instrument in the hands of this community and how it was used to feather its own nest. It also enlightens us as regards the origin, nature and characteristics of the Āptya devatās Trita, Dvita and Ekata. There are innumerable legends in the Brāhmaṇas which are associated with one Vedic deity or the other. Such 'Deity-Legends', if properly studied, will help us to correlate the mythology of the Veda with that of the Brāhmaṇas.

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HARISVĀMIN THE COMMENTATOR OF THE
ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA : A PROTÉGÉ OF
VIKRAMĀDITYA THE GREAT OF TRADITION
HIS DATE — C. 54 B. C.

BY SHRI SADASHIVA L. KATRE

Harisvāmin is known to us mainly through his monumental commentary (Bhāṣya) on the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* of the Mādhyandina Recension of White Yajurveda. No other work by him appears to have yet been recorded with authenticity. Aufrecht,¹ probably following some previous scholar, had identified him with Harihara the commentator on Kātyāyana's *Śrāddhasūtra* and *Snānavidhisūtra*. But P. V. Kane² has now proved the identity of this Harihara with Harihara the commentator on Pāraskara's *Gṛhyasūtra* and assigned him to c. 1150-1250 A. C. In fact, there was no ground whatsoever to justify even a tentative identification of our Harisvāmin with Harihara under question. Thus for a consideration of the various problems concerning our author we have naturally to look back only to his *Śatapatha-bhāṣya*.

The Bhāṣya has been declared both by old-type Paṇḍitas and modern scholars as very learned and evincing deep scholarship and unique conversance with the Vedic sacrificial ritual. It is, however, rendered awfully obscure and unintelligible in many portions due to extreme corruptness of the basic MSS. In fact, the Bhāṣya is as yet available to us only in fragments, and MSS of a major portion thereof still remain to be traced. MSS of the fragments hitherto recorded belong to the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, the Government MSS Library of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, the Oriental Institute of

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, Pp. 631 762, 763.

2. *History of Dharmasāstra*, I, Pp. 341-343.

the Madras University, the India Office Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, etc., and many of these fragments or selections therefrom have been included by Weber, Satya-vrata Samasrami and Sridhara Annasastrī Vare in their respective editions of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* issued from Berlin, Calcutta and Bombay. The last-named editor has published Harisvāmin's fragments mainly because Sāyaṇa's or Śiṅgaṇa's Bhāṣya which forms the main bulk of his edition³ was not available to him on those portions.

The author's name 'Harisvāmin' and his designation 'Ācārya' (i. e. a Vedic preceptor) are mentioned in the following colophon occurring in the printed editions at the close of each available section (brāhmaṇa) and chapter (adhyāya) :—

“ इति श्रीमदाचार्यहरिस्वामिनः⁴ कृतौ शतपथभाष्ये.....काण्डे.....
अध्यायः समाप्तः ” or “अध्याये.....ब्राह्मणम्.”

Yet by far important from the point of view of his personal details are the following three verses that generally precede this colophon :—

नागस्वामिसुतोऽवन्त्यां पाराशर्यो वसन् हरिः ।

श्रुत्यर्थं दर्शयामास शक्तिः पौष्करीयकः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः ।

धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यच्छातपथी श्रुतिम् ॥ २ ॥

3. The edition has been published by the Lakshmi-Venkateshvara Press, Bombay, in 1940 in five volumes and references in this paper are to this edition. Harisvāmin's fragments published herein are on I. vii. 4, viii-ix; IV. iv-vi; VII. iv. 4, v-vii; XII; XIII.

4. Some of these colophons in the edition read ; इति श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधान-कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीनां श्रीहरिस्वामिनां कृतौ माध्यन्दिनीयशतपथब्राह्मणभाष्ये.....काण्डे.....अध्यायः समाप्तः । I am inclined to think that this mixed and misleading colophon has its origin in the confusion of some ill-informed scribe whose prototype MS of Harisvāmin's *Śatapatha-bhāṣya* probably came from Kavīndrācārya's collection and bore the usual ownership epigraph श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीनां माध्यन्दिनीयशतपथब्राह्मणभाष्यम् on the title-page. However, the new *Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library* (P. 31) published in 1944, too, records a MS of *Śatapatha-bhāṣya* by Kavīndrācārya !

भूभर्चा विक्रमार्केण क्लृप्तां कनकवेदिकाम् ।

दानायाध्यास्य कृतवान् श्रुत्यर्थविवृतिं हरिः ॥ ३ ॥

However, in a few cases the verses are altogether absent, at some places we read only Verses 1 and 2 and at others only Verse 2, sometimes with the reading 'विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः' replaced with one of the parallel readings 'विक्रमार्कक्षिर्तासितुः', 'विक्रमादित्यभूपतेः' or 'विक्रमार्कस्य शासितुः'.

As per Verse 1, Harisvāmin belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Parāśara Gotra, was son of Nāgasvāmin, hailed originally from Puṣkara and had become a resident of Avanti or Ujjayinī when he wrote the present Vedic commentary. Verse 2 says that Harisvāmin when he commented on the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* had been appointed Dharmādhyakṣa (i. e. Head of Religious Judiciary) by King Vikramāditya the gracious Lord of Avanti. Verse 3 adds that Harisvāmin composed the Vedic commentary while physically occupying the high golden seat constructed by King Vikramāditya for 'Charity'. This may mean either that Harisvāmin also held the post of Dānādhyakṣa (i. e. Head of Charitable Department) of that King or that the particular golden seat had been actually made over to Harisvāmin as a gift by way of appreciation of his learning by the King. 'Śrutyarthavivṛti' in Verse 3 may have been designed to be the title of the Bhāṣya, or the compound may have been used only in a general sense (viz. interpretation of Vedic text).

A few additional and still more important personal details are furnished by some verses which are traced in a solitary MS dated Samvat 1849 (= c. 1792 A. C.) stocked in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, and said to contain the beginning of the Bhāṣya. I have not yet been able to see the MS myself and my scanty knowledge about it is derived only from the pertinent learned papers etc. hitherto contributed by Mangala Deva Sastri,⁵ Lakshman Sarup,⁶ C. Kunhan

5. Vide R. N. Dandekar: *Vedic Bibliography* (Bombay, 1946), P. 29.

6. Vide his Introduction to *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta* (Lahore, 1929), Pp. 29-30, and his paper *Date of Skandasvāmin* in the *Jhā Commemoration Volume* (Poona, 1937), Pp. 399-410.

Raja⁷ and K. Sambasiva Sastri.⁸ Unluckily the verses under reference have been cited not fully but only partly, and those, too, not very systematically. From a collective perusal of these papers etc. the following six verses from the MS can be furnished here :—

... ..
नागस्वामी तत्र

श्रीपक्षिलस्वामिसूनुश्रीगुहस्वामिनन्दनः ।
तन्त्रयाजी प्रमाणज्ञ आढ्यो लक्ष्म्या समेधितः ॥

तन्नन्दनो हरिस्वामी प्रस्फुरद्वेदवेदिमान् ।
त्रयीव्याख्यानधौरेयोऽधीततन्त्रो गुरोर्मुखात् ॥

यः सन्नाद् कृतवान् सप्त सोमसंस्थास्तथर्कश्रुतिम् ।
व्याख्यां कृत्वाध्यापयन्मां श्रीस्कन्दस्वास्थ्यस्ति मे गुरुः ॥

ततोऽधीतमहातन्त्रो विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे ।
व्याचिख्यासुः श्रुतेरर्थं हरिस्वामी नतो गुरुम् ॥

श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमस्य क्षितीशिलुः ।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति ॥

... ..

यदादीनां कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥

Of these, the first five verses occur in the opening portion of the MS and the last one occurs at its end.

From these verses we learn that Nāgasvāmin, Harisvāmin's father, was son of Guhasvāmin and grandson of Pakṣilasvāmin, was deeply versed, both practically and theoretically, in the sacrificial lore and was endowed with affluent circum-

7. Vide his Preface to the *R̥gvedānukramanī* of Mādhavabhāṭṭa (Madras, 1932). Vide *Vedic Bibliography*, Pp. 3, 4, 5, 6, for his other papers etc. on this and allied problems.

8. Vide his Introduction to the *R̥ksam̐hitā with the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin and the Commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhava*, I (Trivandrum, 1929).

stances. What is more important, they inform us that Harisvāmin's guru was Skandasvāmin who, a great sacrificial priest (*samrāt*),⁹ had performed the seven Soma sacrifices and had composed a commentary on the *R̥gveda*. The fact of Harisvāmin's being Dharmādhyakṣa of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is also recorded herein. Most important of all, the last verse records Harisvāmin's date by stating, according to its simple and apparent interpretation, that the Bhāṣya was completed when the first 3740 years of Kali had elapsed, i. e. c. 638 or 639 A. C. since Kali is held to commence from the 18th February, 3102 B. C.

Now let us examine all these details critically. There is nothing inconsistent in a Brāhmaṇa of Harisvāmin's brilliance and acquisitions to hail originally from Puṣkara and receive a significant, learned and holy appointment at the then Court of Ujjayinī, for, after all, the two sacred places are not at an unreasonable distance from each other. Even today we find several families of Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas of the same gotra known as ' Puṣkaraṇā or Pokharanā Parāsarīs ' settled at Ujjayinī for several generations. From the current representatives of some ancient shrines at Ujjayinī it appears that the name ' Nāgasvāmin ' or ' Nāganātha ' was popular there at one time. Some of the present members, too, of the Puṣkara Brāhmaṇa families residing at places in Central India and Rajputana are

9. ' Samrāt ' here has to be explained in the sense " a sacrificial priest *par excellence* versed in the mathematical side of the construction of Kuṇḍamaṇḍapa." This will be clear from the fact that Rāma Vājapeyin, the great sacrificer of Naimiṣa, styles both himself and his father Sūryadāsa as ' Samrāḍagnicit ' or ' Samrātsthapatyagnic ' in the colophons to his numerous works on Śrauta, Kuṇḍamaṇḍapa, Jyautiṣa, etc. and that Raghunātha-bhaṭṭa of Benares, a nephew of Jagadguru Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a performer of Vājapeya Sacrifice, also styles himself ' Samrātsthapati ' in his works. K. Sambasiva Sastri's view (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCVI, Introduction, P. 3) that Skandasvāmin probably hailed from the Samrāt or Tamprakkal Brāhmaṇa community of Kerala, though supported by the citation of a definition of such a *samrāt* from the *Jātinirṇaya*, is not tenable since the definition has nothing to do with, or even goes against, the performance of Soma sacrifices which forms the predominant feature of Harisvāmin's description of Skandasvāmin.

known to me as bearing names ending with ' Svāmi ', which has thus become a sort of surname in their cases. Hari-svāmin's guru mentioned in the verses, too, has been identified with utmost plausibility with the celebrated Skandasvāmin whose ancient Bhāṣya entitled *Rgarthāgamasamhṛti* on the *Rksamhitā* has been partly recovered and published lately from Trivandrum¹⁰ and Madras,¹¹ in the metrical colophons¹² whereof he describes himself as son of Bhartṛdhruva (= Dhruvasvāmin ?) and resident of Valabhi,¹³ probably the same as its namesake of historical fame in Gujarat about the same distance from Ujjayinī as Puṣkara though in a different direction.

It is, however, impossible to trace Harisvāmin's patron in history in the light of the above-mentioned date since no Vikramāditya could have flourished at Ujjayinī at such a late date as 638 A. C. From 606 to 648 A. C. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was the unchallenged emperor of the whole of Northern India and all the known historical details combine to point to the

10. The Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has published only the first three Adhyāyas of the 1st Aṣṭaka of the *Rksamhitā* with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava under the editorship of K. Sambasiva Sastri and L. A. Ravi Varma.

11. The Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8, has published the whole of the 1st Aṣṭaka of Skandasvāmin's Bhāṣya on *Rksamhitā* under the editorship of C. Kunhan Raja, who has lately also procured a transcript for the Adyar Library of a palm-leaf MS in Malayalam script from Trivandrum containing the 5th and 6th Maṇḍalas of the same Bhāṣya. Vide the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. I, Part 4, Pp. 123-128.

12. The colophon reads:

वलभीविनिवास्येतामृगार्थगमसंहतिम् ।

भर्तृध्रुवसुतश्चक्रे स्कन्दस्वामी यथास्मृति ॥

13. K. Sambasiva Sastri suggests the identity of this Valabhi with the village Valapaṭṭana near Kannur in the Calicut District of Central Kerala because *svāmyanta* names are met with, according to his information, only in Kerala ! Further, he also identifies Bhartṛdhruva, Skandasvāmin's father, with King Dhruvabhāṭa of Valabhi in Gujarat, who was a son-in-law of Emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, quite forgetting, apart from the gross absurdity of the identification, that the date 639 A. C. upheld by him for Harisvāmin's literary activities would seriously conflict with his suggestion.

fact that as the result of a series of conquests by Prabhākara-vardhana, Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana himself, Mālava, both Western and Eastern including Avanti, had been bodily annexed to the empire of Kanauj long before 638 A. C. Consequently Avanti could not have a Vikramāditya about this period since that dignified name or title connotes something even more than an independent king or emperor.

Most of the scholars mentioned above have accepted 638 or 639 A. C. as Harisvāmin's date but they have not succeeded in identifying his Vikramāditya. Only Lakshman Sarup has strived hard to get rid of the difficulty and identify the royal patron, but his methods, arguments and results are hardly acceptable. In the beginning¹⁴ he was labouring under the impression that Kali started in 3202 B. C., so that the date furnished by the verse could be easily rendered as 538 A. C. and the patron could at once be identified with King Yaśodharman who is known to have vanquished Mihirakula the Lord of the Hūṇas about 528 A. C. Soon he detected that it was a blunder to have made the Kali era start from 3202 B. C. and that actually it is held to start exactly a hundred years later in 3102 B. C. so that the year under reference could be calculated only as 638 A. C. when for the reasons stated above Avanti or Mālava could have no Vikramāditya and his identification proved futile. However, the temptation to identify the patron with Yaśodharman was perhaps too irresistible for Lakshman Sarup! He subsequently¹⁵ declared the reading of the verse as faulty and proposed the following emendation for the same from his own imagination :—

यदाब्दानां कलेर्जग्मुः षट्त्रिंशच्छतकानि वै ।

चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥

so that the date could be again rendered as 538 A. C. and the already suggested identity, based originally as it was on erroneous information, could be substantially established !

No scholar following scientific methods of research can

14. *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, Introduction, Pp. 29-30.

15. *Date of Skandasvāmin — Jhā Commemoration Volume*, Pp. 399-410.

accept a drastic and grossly imaginary emendation of an original reading in a MS simply to suit one's convenience unless it is supported by other scriptural evidence. The emendation षट्त्रिंशच्छतकानि of the original reading सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि, proposed as it is by a scholar of Lakshman Sarup's name and fame, cannot but be rejected. After all, the letters सप्त and षट् as well as तानि and तकानि are not so similar in appearance as to be mutually transferable in transcription. We had rather dismissed for the time being the statement of the verse as untenable for want of historical corroboration until the affairs could be mended by the discovery of a fresh MS with a happy reading or by the pertinent modification of our historical knowledge of the period.

Lakshman Sarup showed¹⁶ his partiality for Yaśodharman on another novel ground, too. He says that the description 'Avantinātha' i. e. 'Lord of Avanti' of Harisvāmin's Vikramāditya suits Yaśodharman whose territory was confined to Malwa or Central India more than it does Candragupta II or other Gupta Vikramādityas whose sovereignty extended to the whole of Northern India or even beyond. The argument, however, is of no weight. Ancient authors like Harisvāmin were evidently not ignorant of the maxim प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशा भवन्ति. Even in popular legends King Vikramāditya of tradition and King Bhoja are usually designated as 'Avantinātha' and 'Dhārādhiśa' respectively, mainly because Avanti and Dhārā were their respective capitals, although the theme that their sway extended over a considerably wider region is therein kept constantly in view. Further, the argument would not help in establishing the identity of Harisvāmin's patron with Yaśodharman, too, since places like Mandasor (Daśapura) which lie at a distance of over 100 miles from Ujjayinī are known to have been included in the latter's territory. Last but not the least, Yaśodharman cannot be identified with any Vikramāditya of history or tradition, much less with Harisvāmin's Vikramāditya who is not even hinted to bear any other name. No evidence is forthcoming that Yaśodharman

16. *Ibid*, Pp. 401-402.

ever bore the title Vikramāditya. Had he really borne that title he would not have failed to mention it in the course of his exhaustive self-eulogistic descriptions with which abound his hitherto discovered three inscriptions including the Mandasor Stone Inscription of 532 A. C.¹⁷ Many previous western as well as Indian scholars had strenuously exerted themselves to identify Śakāri Vikramāditya of tradition with this Hūnāri Yaśodharman of inscriptions, but their attempts, too, proved futile due to the absence of evidence for the latter's actually bearing the title Vikramāditya at any stage, erroneous view in regarding the Śakas and the Hūnas as identical and many other difficulties.

Thus Lakshman Sarup's treatment and solution of the problem are not at all convincing and acceptable.

One thing very conspicuous in the above-mentioned four scholars' approach to the problem is that none of them regards these verses as fabricated or doubts the genuineness of the author in furnishing all these details. On the contrary, most of them combine in making the date furnished by the author, traceable as it is in a single MS, as their main landmark for fixing the date of Skandasvāmin, notwithstanding the fact that the question of the identity of Harisvāmin's Vikramāditya remains on its basis unsolved. Thus C. Kunhan Raja and K. Sambasiva Sastri assign Harisvāmin to 638 A. C. and Skandasvāmin to c. 600 A. C., while Lakshman Sarup, who charges only the scribe of the Benares MS with inaccuracy of transcription, assigns Harisvāmin to 528 A. C. and Skandasvāmin to c. 500 A. C. Mangala Deva Sastri, Head of the institution in actual possession of the MS, describes the MS as 'unique' and says 'there is no reason why the date-furnishing verse therein should not be regarded as genuine'.¹⁸ Thus Harisvāmin has not been subjected to the

17. D. C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1942), Pp. 386-392. Vide also Pp. 393-395 for Yaśodharman's another inscription at Mandasor.

18. *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, Introduction, Pp. 29-30, where Lakshman Sarup quotes Mangala Deva Sastri's opinion.

ignominious fate of the ill-famed author of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* who, too, furnishes his date and personal details in a somewhat similar way. The reason evidently is that the scholars have not found in the course of their study of Harisvāmin's *Bhāṣya* anything internal that goes against such a date for the same while the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* is notorious in furnishing many internal data that contradict its alleged date and details. We may readily concede the scholars' partiality for Harisvāmin in this respect for this reason, but no critic can pronounce their solutions of the problem as final so long as the historical identity of Harisvāmin's Vikramāditya remains an unsolved riddle with them.

Probably we can get rid of the dilemma in a very happy way if the verse under question is explained, as recently suggested by me elsewhere,¹⁹ in the following way :—

Prose Order : यदा कलेः आदीनां (समानां) सप्त च त्रिंशच्छतानि च
वै जग्मुः, अन्याः चत्वारिंशत् समाः च वै जग्मुः, तदा
इदं भाष्यं कृतम् ॥

Simple Translation : *This Bhāṣya was completed when the first 7 and 3000 and further 40 (i. e. 3047) years of Kali were over.*

Thus, by divorcing 'sapta' from 'triṃśacchatāni' in the verse, the years of Kali that had elapsed would number 3047 and not 3740 so that the year under reference would be rendered as c. 54 B. C. This proposed process of interpreting the verse, while being perfectly justified from the grammatical point of view, dispels the necessity of making any imaginary alteration in the original MS reading. For, thereby the royal patron is at once identified with Vikramāditya the Great of tradition who is reputed to be the founder of the Sāmvat Era that commences from 57 B. C. or Kali year 3045.

From a consideration of all the relevant facts and factors together, I am now convinced that the author of the verse

19. Vide my article in the Hindi *Vikrama-Smṛti-Grantha* (Sāmvat 2001) published from Gwalior, P. 383.

could have nothing but this very meaning in his mind. The obvious implications of the meaning are that Harisvāmin was a protégé of Vikramāditya the Great of tradition, that his composition of the Bhāṣya was one of the great undertakings planned to commemorate the unique event of foundation of the Saṁvat Era by that King or Emperor who, most probably on that very occasion, conferred, in consonance with his traditional unrivalled generosity to the learned, a very rich gift of the lofty golden seat on his Dharmādhyakṣa the author, that the Bhāṣya was commenced in the 1st year and finished in the 3rd year of the Saṁvat Era, etc. The genuineness or otherwise of the statement of the verse and its implications would, of course, depend on pertinent internal and external circumstances.

Many objections would be naturally rushed forth by orientalists, historians and archaeologists against the proposed way of interpretation, but they are not likely to prove insurmountable. It might be asked how could 'sapta', a minor numeral, be made, against the usual convention, to precede 'triṁśacchatāni', a major numeral? The answer is: it is simply due to the metrical convenience of the author. Ancient authors, much less Vedic or Śrauta commentators, should not always be expected to rigidly observe rhetorical conventions, which certainly were not so sacred to them as Pāṇini's dictates, in their writings. Even authors of ornate metrical compositions like the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription²⁰ of Skandagupta are found using forms like त्रिंशद्शैकौत्तरशत—to mean 'one hundred and forty-one', which are against both rhetoric and grammar, simply because they fitted in their metres.

The most serious objection would be hurled by historians and archaeologists as to where is the historical evidence for

20. *Select Inscriptions*, I, P. 309. The pertinent Verse 1 of this inscription dated 141 Gupta Era (= 460 A. C.) reads—यस्योपस्थानभूमिर्नृपतिशत-
शिरःपातवातावधूता गुप्तानां वंशजस्य प्रविश्रुतयशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धः । राज्ये शक्रोप-
मस्य क्षितिपशतपतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते वर्षे त्रिंशद्शैकौत्तरकशततमे ज्येष्ठमासि
प्रपञ्चे ॥

the actual existence of a Vikramāditya at this period? My answer is: it is the contemporary literary allusions like the present ones that, unless proved to be forged or fabricated or directly controverted by proved facts of history, will prove his historical existence at this stage in the absence of a pertinent inscription to the effect and they should not be disparaged simply because they are not inscribed on stone or metal. Even the staunchest archaeologist, as against his practice in the past, does not now dare to accord a flat denial to the existence of a Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī c. 57 B. C. ; he now prefers only to postpone the acceptance of his existence till the discovery of a pertinent inscription. Even his most cherished view that there could have been no historical Vikramāditya prior to Candragupta II has been shattered recently with the sudden discovery in 1943 at Bamnala in Indore State of a gold coin of Samudragupta bearing the legend 'Śrī-Vikramah' on the reverse²¹. Vincent Smith had anticipated²² such a discovery long ago, although a few die-hard adherents of the antiquated school are still exerting themselves to explain away its implications. The trend of scholars for some years past appears to be in favour of admitting an original Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī if and when one comes historically in their view, in the 1st century B. C., since no known facts of history are now found to go against his existence. Harisvāmin's statements, the genuineness whereof has hitherto never been questioned by critics, should now be taken, in the light of my interpretation of his date, to form a contemporary direct evidence for his historical existence in the period.

A third likely objection would still creep up from the mere archaeologist to the purport that the use of the Kali era is not supported at such an early stage in epigraphy which, as matters stand today, becomes acquainted with it only 35 centuries after its so-called commencement, i. e. c. the 5th

21. Vide D. B. Diskalkar in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. V, Part II, Pp. 136-137, for a description and photograph of this coin.

22. *Early History of India*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1924), P. 347.

century A. C.²³ The objection should be silenced by the same argument, viz., that Harisvāmin's use of the Kali era should itself furnish a substantial proof for its earlier prevalence in the country. Further, the Purāṇas, a considerable portion whereof is very early and is relied upon with some caution even by the modern historian as the only source when epigraphy keeps silence, bear ample testimony to the early popularity of the Kali era. The division of time into Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas or periods is known in some form or other even to the *Aitareya* and other Brāhmaṇas.

Thus my interpretation of the date-furnishing verse is not likely to be impeded by these objections and we should now proceed to consider how far it is justified by external and internal conditions. I have already mentioned that the scholars who have made a patient study of Harisvāmin's Bhāṣya for several years on the basis of its MSS as well as printed fragments have found therein nothing that goes against its assignment to 638 or even 538 A. C. From a close perusal of the printed fragments of the Bhāṣya I am able to say that nothing internal goes against its date being pushed back by seven centuries more. For, Harisvāmin cites only the following works:— ऋक्संहिता, वाजसनेयिसंहिता and तैत्तिरीयसंहिता; ऐतरेयब्राह्मण and तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण; निघण्टु, निरुक्त and पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी, चातुपाठ and गणपाठ; कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र;²⁴ स्मृतिवचन located in शाता-

23. Fleet: *JRAS*, 1911, P. 479, and others.

24. The *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* is quoted numerously. Vide especially passages like “ व्रन्ति वा एतत् पशुं यदेनम् । ‘संज्ञप्यमाने’ इति वचनात् परिपशव्यान्तराल इति प्राप्नोति । सूत्रकारस्तु — ‘परिपशव्ये हुत्वा प्राणाय स्वाहेति तिल्लोऽपरां जुहोति’ इत्याह । तस्याभिप्रायः — संज्ञप्यमाने इति ‘वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा’ इत्येवं वर्तमानोपदेशोऽयमिति । कुतः ? ‘प्राणानेवास्मिन्नेतद्वाति’ इति वाक्यशेषात् । उत्क्रान्तानां हि प्राणानां पुनर्विधानं युक्तं नानुत्क्रान्तानामिति । ” (— XIII. ii. 8, Pp. 2865-6), “ सूत्रकारस्तु — परिकर्षणपक्षे परिकृष्टे एव यवान्वपेदिति मेने । ” (— XIII. viii, 3, P. 2982), etc. where Harisvāmin appears to differ with Kātyāyana.

तप,²⁵ मनु²⁶ etc. None of these works is held to be later than the 2nd century B. C.

There is also an external evidence which appears to compel the assignment of Harisvāmin to the 1st century B. C. Lakshman Sarup tells²⁷ us that Karka in his commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra* quotes Harisvāmin. As Karka's date had not been definitely settled, Lakshman Sarup was satisfied only with furnishing a lower limit for the same, viz. c. 1100 A. C. when he is quoted by the *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*. However, Karka is now held to be much earlier than 1100 A. C. and scholars of Indian Astronomy like the late G. S. Apte have now successfully assigned²⁸ him to c. the 2nd century A. C. on the basis of some astronomical data furnished by him. Hence Harisvāmin who is quoted by Karka can be assigned only to the 1st century B. C. and not to the 6th or the 7th century A. C. on the strength of this external evidence.

Thus the trend of all these evidences is in favour of my interpretation of the verse. It must be admitted that our present knowledge of Harisvāmin's work is only fragmentary and we must keep our pertinent conclusions regarding him open to correction or modification in the light of our future researches. However, as things stand today Harisvāmin furnishes a unique contemporary evidence for the existence of an original Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī c. 57 B. C. which is quite in harmony with the unanimous assertion of three distinct, viz.,

25. Vide P. 302 (I, viii. 3) — “..... न शास्त्रप्रवृत्तेः । यथा — ‘मातुलस्य सुतां केचित्पितृस्वसृसुतादिकाम् । विवहन्ति क्वचिदेशे संकोच्यपि सपिण्डताम् ॥’ इति etc.” The verse cited here is ascribed by the *Nirṇayasindhu* to Śatātapa.

26. E. g., P. 302 (I, viii. 3) — “..... ‘असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः । सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥’ इति मनोः संगत्या मूलतः षष्ठमथुनान्यतीत्य विवहेदिति श्रौतं विवहन्म् ।”

27. *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, Introduction, P. 30.

28. Vide *Annals (BORI)*, Vol. XXIV, Pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, where B. R. Kulkarni refers to the views of G. S. Apte and others on the problem.

Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist, ancient traditions of the country and references to him in Guṇāḍhya's *Brhatkathā*, Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī* and Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*. It may be that this original Vikramāditya was in reality only a local king or emperor of Malwa marked mainly for his unique chivalry, munificence to poets and the learned, etc. and that the current myths regarding his world-conquest etc. arose because later emperors like Samudragupta and Candragupta II made him their own prototype by bearing a title of his name and the traditions subsequently confounded him with all these.

If Harisvāmin flourished in 57 B. C., both his father Nāgasvāmin and his guru Skandasvāmin have to be assigned to c. 100-75 B. C. There is nothing internal in the hitherto published portion²⁹ of Skandasvāmin's Bhāṣya on the *Rksaṃhitā*, too, that appears to contradict such an early date for its author. It may be pointed out here that Puṣyamitra Śūṅga who mainly on the basis of Purāṇic traditions had been previously assigned by historians³⁰ to c. 180 B. C. is now being placed by some eminent epigraphists³¹ in c. 100-75 B. C. on the strength of a recently deciphered undated Śūṅga inscription³² at Ayodhyā the script whereof is regarded by them to belong to the 1st century A. C. and wherein King Dhanadeva of Kosala describes himself as 'sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra who twice performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice'. If this new view flourishes, the sacrificial activities of both Nāgasvāmin and Skandasvāmin would with utmost plausibility be assigned actually to the Golden Age of ancient Vedic culture ringing with the slogans like "Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ".

29. Skandasvāmin's Bhāṣya (I. 1-3) quotes, besides some anonymous Vedic passages, only the following :—आर्षेयब्राह्मण, ऐतरेयब्राह्मण, ऐतिहासिकाः, कात्यायन, चरकाध्वर्युब्राह्मण, छाङ्गलेयिश्रुति, निघण्टु, पाणिनि, पुराणेषु, पौराणिकाः, बृहदेवता and बृहदेवताकार, वार्तिक on पाणिनि, शतपथब्राह्मण, शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण, and some शौनक, सरकाध्वर्युब्राह्मण अनुक्रमणिका.

30. Smith : *Early History of India*, Pp. 204, 208 ff.

31. E. g., N. G. Majumdar (*ABORI*, Vol. VII, Pp. 160-63), Dayaram Sahni (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, P. 57), etc.

32. *Select Inscriptions*, I, P. 96.

Even if the old view regarding Puṣyamitra's date survives, the period 100-75 B. C. would still be one strongly echoing those slogans.

As C. Kunhan Raja says,³³ our Harisvāmin of Parāśara gotra is evidently different from his namesake mentioned in an inscription³⁴ dated 601 A. C. because the latter belongs to Bharadvāja gotra. K. Sambasiva Sastri is inclined³⁵ to identify our Harisvāmin with Harisvāmin, son of Govinda-svāmin and the author of the commentary *Āyamaṅgalā* on the *Bhāṭṭikāvya*, whose colophon he furnishes as :—

इति सत्कविचूडामणिगोविन्दस्वामिसूनुश्रीहरिस्वामिविरचितमहाकाव्य-
टीकायां भगवच्छङ्करपरमहंसपरिव्राजकनिगदितायां जयमङ्गलायां तिङन्तकाण्डे
लुङ्विलसितं नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥

It is strange that such an identity should have been suggested by him in face of the different parentage of the two Harisvāmins !

Our Harisvāmin could at once have been identified with the Hari mentioned as one of the numerous literary celebrities in the court of Vikramāditya in the following verse of the *Āyotirvidābharāṇa* (22.8) :—

शङ्कुः सुवाग्वररुचिर्मणिरङ्गुदत्तो
जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहूरी घटकर्पराख्यः ।
अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वा
यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥

but how to rely on the details furnished by the infamous *Āyotirvidābharāṇa* ?

33. Preface to the *R̥gvedānukramanī* of Mādhavabhaṭṭa, P. xviif.

34. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, Pp. 342ff.

35. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCVI, Introduction, P. 2.

THE HISTORICAL FACTS OF THE PERSONALITY AND REIGN OF VIKRĀMĀDITYA

BY SARDAR M. V. KIBE

It is assumed by the Committee, which is to award prizes for the contribution on the subject of the title of this essay, that the Vikramāditya referred to is the Vikramāditya, who lived in the 1st Century B. C. and who founded the Vikrama era. The Committee has besides this guidance, also shown discretion in not prescribing any limit for its extent or bulk. The latter can be easily augmented by quotations.

The assumption by the Committee is fully supported by legend. There are two imaginative works in Sanskrit, whether original or translated from some other source, is not clear, which contain stories woven round the careers of the Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of the current Vikrama Samvat. One contains 25 stories and the other 32. The latter stories are told by thirty-two statutes on the throne, supposed to be that of Vikramāditya. They relate to him. The former describes exploits of Vikramāditya. Both these works are more interesting and didactic than based on facts of history. They are said to be of Buddhist Origin. (1)

Then there is the Kālakācārya's Purāṇa of Jains which gives an account of this Emperor. It is said that he belonged to the Gardabhilla dynasty and that his brother was Bhartṛhari, whose three centuries of stanzas on Erotics, Renunciation and Morality or Polity, are so well-known. A Bhartṛhari is known as an author of some other works in Sanskrit. Whether all these were different or one and the same, is not certain; nor is the history of the latter supported by any other evidence than a legend based on the first named stanza of the first named hundred stanzas, which describes unfaithfulness of women. It is also not known in what order these

centuries of stanzas were composed or whether they are mere anthologies ; nor is it known if they are the creation of one author or different ones. The 25 stories told to Vikrama support the legend mentioned above. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* also mentions a Vikramāditya and gives some account of him.

The Jain Purāṇa, however, describes that Bhartṛhari retired from the worldly affairs and Vikrama succeeded him. Some coins with the picture of an animal like an ass have been found, but it is not established whether the name Gardhabhilla dynasty is the foundation or the coins are the foundations of the story. Vikramāditya in spite of his prowess, conquests and success seems to have been the last brilliant king of the dynasty. And there is another story that Vikrama's era was ousted by that of Śālivāhana, who established his era after 135 years. It is supported by a stanza in a Sanskrit astronomical work describing the name of three past and three future founders of eras, among the first three being Dharmarāja, Vikrama and Śālivāhana. Prof. Egerton has mainly relied on this Jain work. It is also a production of the 13th century A. D. and appears to be based on the works previously mentioned.

The late Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, the eminent historian of the pre-Musalman period, pointed out that in Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, there is a stanza, in which a King Vikrama of great powers is mentioned. According to Vaidya this work belongs to the 1st century B. C., but according to others this work is of much later origin, even of the 7th century A. D. So far, this has been the strongest evidence in the nature of the evidence of history. But all depends upon the period in which this work was written as far as its value to the present discussion is concerned. And, in any case, it gives no details.

Competent scholars have shown that there is nothing to show that the present Vikrama era has come down un-interruptedly from its first century. In fact no trace of it is found till much later.

This is indeed the strongest argument against the history of its founder. It can, however, be said that the absence of evidence is no undisputable argument to disprove an ancient tradition. Something on stone, or some other evidence may yet be discovered, filling up this short-coming. But at present it dominates the minds of scholars.

On the other hand, the enumeration as contemporaries, of nine gems of learning supposed to be living at the time of Vikrama, in which is included the famous astronomer of Ujjain, Varāhamihira, whose date is sometime in the 6th century A. D., found in a stanza in an astronomical work, shows the utter confusion prevailing in the minds of Indian Scholars, as regards, not only the date but the authenticity of the very existence of Vikramāditya. That there have been several kings, Emperors or conquerors of this name, from the time of the Guptas and that Cālukyas also produced some, is undoubted (2) and that the former were the first to invent, or assume the title, is certain so far as the present evidence is concerned. (3)

Almost all the Western Scholars and a few of the Indians (4) bring down the date of the composition of at least some of the Sūktas of *R̥gveda*, to 600 B. C. On the other hand some of the Eastern Scholars would carry back the date of the Candragupta Maurya to the 16th Century B. C. (5)

Mr. Triveda (6) is of the opinion, that the sheet-anchor of the Indian History, fixed by Sir William Jones in the year 1795, viz. the contemporaneousness of Alexander the Great and Candragupta Maurya, which is based on the similarity between the name Sandrokotus and the former, given in the Greek records, and certain other facts, but which is not compatible with the original statements of the *Purāṇas* which were also known to the Greeks, is wrong. (6) The average period of 20 or 25 years assigned to each reign of the kings named in the Purāṇic dynasties is also wrong because, (a) the reigns of some kings are known to be longer and (b) some names minor, or un-important kings, have been omitted, which can be proved from the treatment accorded to dynastic

names even in the so-called historical period, fixed by the Western Scholars. According to Mr. Mankad the Sandrokotus of the Greek was Samudra Gupta, the son of Chandra Gupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty. (5) Hence the period of the Guptas is carried back by more than a thousand years. According to Dr. K. P. Jaiswal, the Guptas were Karaskar Jats. (7) As the Guptas revived Hinduism, which had gone down before the Baudhas, they were incorporated in the Kṣatriya Varna and may thus have come to be regarded as one of the four – so called Agnikula – families, born out of the Agni Kuṇḍa at Mount Abu; but this story is of modern origin, so also the statement that the Vikramāditya was a farmer, is of later origin.

Mr. Mankad in his paper already referred to, (5) maintains that a Manvantara-Caturyuga computation of 40 years, was in existence and the years of the dynasties given in the *Purāṇas* which are upto the end of the Andhra dynasty, are given in its terms. It appears that it was replaced by the Vikrama Saṁvat, after an interregnum of about a few hundred years (9). The interregnum fell within the periods of the reigns of Candragupta I and the beginning of the reign of Skandagupta I, who was the last Gupta king who defeated the Śakas or Hūṇas. This will be presently supported. The later Guptas gradually faded.

If, therefore, the basis of the enumeration of the years of Caturyuga-Manvantara, given in the previous paragraph, has a solid foundation, Gautama Buddha's death is carried back to 1790 B. C. and of Aśoka's reign to about three centuries later (5). From the Mauryas to the end of Andhras, intervenes a period of about a thousand years. An interval of about six hundred years must be regarded as the dark age in history which is now held to be from the Mauryas to the Guptas. It is in this paper held to begin after the Guptas, who are held to have existed in the fourth century to 1st century B. C. Indifferent attention has been paid to the references in existing literature for a history of this period. The late Dr. Jaiswal, in his Imperial History of India, based

on newly discovered works, such as *Kaumudimahotsava* and *Māñjuśrī-mūlakalpa* has brought to light the *Vākātaka* Empire but it covered mid-India only between 150 and 350 A. D., the pre-Gupta period as at present understood in accordance with the sheet-anchor of Sir William Jones.

If, therefore, Candragupta I, or his son, Samudragupta, be held to be a contemporary of the invasion of Alexander and of Seleukus Nicator, a period of nearly three centuries is required to be filled up by the Guptas upto Skandagupta, who all called themselves Ādityas or Vikram-ādityas (5) or simply Parākrama, a variant of Vikrama (2). Saundagupta I, took the title of Vikramāditya. The names of those Imperial Guptas known upto now are Candragupta I, Rāmagupta, Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumārgupta and Skandagupta. The exact period to be counted being 275 years, to fit in Skandagupta with 56 B. C., the average reign of these, comes to about 45 years. Now it is known that Candragupta reigned for 7 years, Rāmagupta only for a couple of, or less, years and Candragupta II for 51 years. Deducting these nearly 59 years of those three kings, the period of the reigns of the remaining three averages 90 years each, which is rather too long. The only surmise possible is that as in the dynastic names of individual kings given in the *Purāṇas*, some names of un-important rulers have been left out (14). As will be seen, the average for six kings is not inordinately long.

In one of the previous paragraphs reference has been made to the pre-Gupta, that is to say, the pre-Greek invasion period. The history of this period fits in well with the scattered information which can be culled from the *Vaṃśānu-carita* of the *Purāṇa*, commencing from Manu Vaivasvata, *Bṛhatkathā* which is now thought to be extant only in the shape of *Kathasaritsāgara* in Sanskrit, of the first Millenium of the Christian era, and which was in Paisācī language, probably in the 1st century B. C., in the *Gāthās* of Jains, the stories in Bhāsa's dramas, the references in Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* to Pradyota, Udayana, Vāsavadattā, Vatsarāja and in the

antiquity of Ujjain from the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, at least from that of the pre-Aśokan period. So also do the story of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* and the conquests of Raghu in *Raghu-vaṁśa*.

Only four acts of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, which is the basis of the same acts of *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, are available. Dr. Oliver of the Illinois University (U. S. A.) writes that Pālaka of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* was a son of Pradyota of Ujjain (8). This is based on Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattā*. It appears from the stories in Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattā* and *Mṛcchakaṭīka* combined, that on account of Udayana and Pālaka being competitors for the hand of the daughter of the king of Vatsa, viz. Padmāvatī, there was revolution at Ujjain and Pālaka was overthrown. He also appears to have been a tyrant, like his father Pradyota, who like Candragupta II bore the title of Caṇḍa Mahāsena. (2)

In the Pañcāṅgas the names of the six founders of different eras are given. It is written therein that after a lapse of 135 years Vikrama Saṁvat was replaced. Ujjayinī was occupied by Candragupta II, but it seems that it passed out of the hands of his descendants, until it was re-conquered by Skandagupta I, who according to what has been hitherto displayed reigned in the 1st century B. C. According to Dr. Hemachandra Joshi, D. Litt (10) a eulogy (प्रशस्ति) dated 63 V. S. has been found in the Deccan and another of the year 103 in the Punjab. He further says that mention of Vikrama is found in *Skandapurāṇa* and quotes Prof. Egerton as saying that a king, having the title of Vikramāditya reigned at Ujjain in 57-56 B. C.

Although Skandagupta defeated the Hūnas, who may be Śakas, or a mixture of both, and maintained the glories of the Guptas, he became the last prominent king of the dynasty. It is said, as already pointed out in a previous paragraph, that Vikrama Saṁvat was superseded by Śālivāhana, who started his own era after the 135 years of the former's era. This Śālivāhana was no doubt a Sātavāhana, which was a Mahārāṣṭriya dynasty. (11) It appears that there is a strange mixture of

dates in these two eras in subsequent literature. That can be solved in this way. Śālivāhana's era may have prevailed, even in the north of the Narbada but the sway of Sātavāhanas in these parts was interrupted by Kuśāṇas, Kṣatrapas and others, who later ruled over Ujjain. The subsequent king of these parts, who expelled or defeated the foreigners was Yaśodharman, who also called himself Vikramāditya. The king who according to Alberuni defeated the Hūṇas at Korur, was probably this king. It appears from Bhavabhūti's dramas that the city of Ujjain had then assumed a secondary place. This was probably after the Sātavāhanas had receded from these parts. The name of Mālava Gaṇa belongs to this period and continued even after Yaśodharman. (12)

Dr. R. B. Pande of the Benares Hindu University has, in a paper read before the 12th All India Oriental Congress at Benares, January, 1944, stated that there in the possession of Pandit Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University, is an old manuscript of *Śākuntala*. "In it we find the personal name of the king in whose Assembly the drama was staged, was Vikramāditya and his title or *biruda* was Śaśāṅka." This is too simple as to seem revolutionary. But before this inscription is given credence, the age of the manuscript, the age of the writing on it, and so on, will have to be tested by experts in these lines. At present it is enough to record that it is at variance with the known facts.

Skandagupta's claim to be the founder of the Vikrama era has circumstantial evidence in support. It, however, lacks a connecting link between the Gupta era and the Vikrama era. But if this hypothesis, that the first centuries of the era were known as the Gupta era, or was so called, (9) and then, when the Śālivāhana Śaka declined, it carried on its existence under the name of Malavagaṇa, and after Yaśodharman had revived the glory of Malwa, although not of Avantī, which was razed to the ground, perhaps by such natural causes as earth-quakes, following the ravages of invaders attracted there, by its wealth and the weakness of its

rulers, the era, the founder of which was the Lord of Malwa and had his Capital at Ujjain, was revived, is accepted, it will be supplied. It also appears from the chronology in ancient astronomical works that they indiscriminately used the name Śaka or Saṃvat, but the dates and months given are those which correspond to the Vikrama era. This shows that when the works were written there was some power which forcibly suppressed the name of Vikrama. This subject will require and is receiving separate treatment at the hands of a competent astronomical scholar.

There is ample evidence in Indian and Foreign literature to show that the city of Ujjain was a great centre of trade and was a rich city in centuries B. C. The great poet Kālidāsa in his epic poem *Raghuvamśa*, and his lyrical poem, called *Meghadūta*, has made appreciative references to the prosperity of Ujjain and has referred to the gay life of its citizens and the king. But scholars are not agreed as to the date of Kālidāsa. He is dragged down from the 1st Century B. C. to the 7th Century A. D. But if the author of these two works, and of *Kumārasaṃbhava*, is one and the same, he can be definitely fixed up in the Gupta period.

In the Silver Jubilee Number of the J. B. O. R. I., Mr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawal quotes the undermentioned stanza from the *Mahābhārata* :—

अथापरोदश्यत रूपसंपदा । स्त्रीणामलंकारधरो पुमान् ॥
 प्राकारवप्रे प्रतिमुच्य कुण्डले । दीर्घे च कम्बू परिहाटके शुभे ॥
 (विराटपर्व १०.१)

About the Kuṇḍalas designated here (प्राकारवप्रे), he maintains that they are to be found in the ears of figures carved on the Barhut sculptures, now in the Calcutta Museum. They are dated about 200 B. C. An image of a Yakṣa, dug up at Parkham near Mathurā, which is dated prior to the above period, has these in its ears. The image is in the Museum at Mathurā. But these ear ornaments are not found on any sculpture after the Śuṅga period. In those of the Kuṣāṇa period hanging Kuṇḍalas – pendants – are found. It appears

that there had been change in the fashion. The Kuṇḍalas mentioned in *Virāṭaparva*, fit in square in the lobes of the ears, and on the back side they have a branch of the mythical tree, Kalpavṛkṣa. In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* they are mentioned thus :—

रथस्य कर्णावभिसन्मुखस्य । ताटंकचक्रं द्वितीयं न्यघात्सः ॥ (१.२३)

In the ears of the images of the Gupta period these are found. In this period Makara-Kuṇḍalas, fish ear-ornaments had also come into use, but the ताटंक चक्र Kuṇḍalas are not found before the Gupta period. This fact, and the insistence on the gay life of the otherwise inconspicuous king of Ujjain, described in the *Raghuvamśa*, and the description of the erotic life of the citizens of that place, described in the *Meghadūta*, show that Kālidāsa was describing the later Gupta period, in which he was also living. The name given by him to his poem — *Kumārasambhava* — which is another name of Skanda, shows his longing for the re-appearance of an *avatāra* of the type of Skandagupta. This also fits in with the identification of Vikramāditya with Skandagupta.

It was not the custom in India to write systematic accounts of the life of persons; social customs and habits of society were described in the so-called legal treatise and what, in modern times, is known as light literature, respectively. Epics, which proposed to record history, such as *Raghuvamśa*, amplified natural beauty and picturesque things and events and personal details, as those of the body, such as bodily powers and beauty of the body. What are now called historical facts were only hinted.

If Kālidāsa lived after Skandagupta, Bhāsa certainly lived some centuries before Kālidāsa and perhaps Skandagupta also. It has already been shown that he portraits in one of his dramas, an event which even according to European scholars took place in the 5th Century B. C. (8). But the internal evidence in his dramas shows that he lived not long afterwards. As the customs prevalent in Hindu Society change so slowly, what he describes may be taken to be a

picture of the period of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. There is a rival claimant to this title, who is alleged to have lived about 500 A. D. and who is said to have founded the era in his name, curiously dating back five centuries before. Evidence for this is yet to come and in any case there is no evidence of one of the name having flourished, apparently in isolation and as a comet, at Ujjain in that period.

Among the thirteen or fourteen dramas of Bhāsa that have been discovered so far, the following refer to events in or about Ujjain. They are :—

(1) *Avimāraka*, (2) *Pratiññāyauḡandharāyaṇa*, (3) *Svapna-vāsavadattā* and (4) *Cārudatta*. Bhāsa seems to have been a native of Ujjain because his description of the life in the city, tallies with what Kālidāsa has written. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* and *Meghadūta* refers to Mahākāla, a number of gardens, skyscrapers, public women and gay people. In Bhāsa's dramas these are to be found.

The Hero of *Avimāraka* is the heir-apparent of Sauvīra Kingdom. When he enters the Palace at Vairantya, of Kuntibhoja, he bows to Mahākāla (Act 3) “ प्रसिदन्तु महाकालः”, where this capital is described in details. As this drama has in its story the mixture of the supernatural, or super-human, he hides the name of Ujjayinī under the name of Vairantya. But the description is of a great capital city. (Acts I, III, & IV). It appears to relate to the period previous to when Pradyota Caṇḍamahāseṇa, the contemporary of Udayana Vatsarāja, who is the hero of *Pratiññā yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Vāsavadattā*, lived.

In the IV Act of *Avimāraka* is described the Assembly Hall in the Palace. Then is described a public garden. In the 3rd Act the Palace is referred to in reference to its high stories. In the 3rd Act reference is also made to the big lamps of the city, which gave a bright light, as that of the moon. This reminds one of the reference in *Raghuvamśa* that the moon on the fore-head of Mahākāla gave the King, who lived near by, the pleasure of spending all the nights

of the month in the moon light. In Acts 3 & 4, one of which was the soliloquy of Avimāraka, the gay life of the people is delineated. The moral depravity of the Princess, who co-habited with Avimāraka, before the formal ceremony of marriage, in a clandestine manner, and the looseness of her companions or servants, reminds one of the public women described by Kālidāsa. The Palace is said to have been surrounded by a garden and its description is reminiscent of the mansion of Cārudatta. It appears from the drama of the same name that the kingdom of Magadha was declining and people from that country were migrating to the more prosperous Ujjayinī. Among them is *gātrasevaka*, who had come as a refugee from Magadha, mentioned in *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. So also Sañjivaka, in the 1st Act of *Cārudatta*, became a thief and then rose to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

From the 2nd Act of *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* it appears that the floor of the Chambers of the Palaces were studded with precious stones. Act 4 refers to a swimming pool. The reference to a swimming pool in the public garden in *Avimāraka* should be remembered in this connection. The garden appears to have been on the banks of the Śiprā river. From the 2nd Act of *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* it appears that there were several palaces in the grounds of the main palaces, one of which had its floor of precious stones. As seen from *Avimāraka* it was a separate mansion. The heroine of *Svapnavāsavadatta* was the Princess of Magadha, from which country came Sanjalaka in *Cārudatta* and *gātrasevaka* in *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. The marriage with the Princess whose name was Padmāvati, was brought about in order to enable Udayana to conquer Vatsa country and add it to his Kauśāmbī kingdom.

In his *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, Bhāsa describes the capture of Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī and his subsequent running away with the daughter of Caṇḍa Mahāsena, his captor, the powerful king of Ujjayinī. Kālidāsa too refers to this event in his *Meghadūta* as being embodied in the

folk lore. Hence this must have been an ancient story, or else Kālidāsa would have referred to Bhāsa's drama based on it. His source and that of Kālidāsa seems to be the same, viz. : the folk-lore (लोककथा).

Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta* records and shows that although Udayana was a descendant of Pāṇḍavas his kingdom of Kauśāmbī had become moribund. The house of Pradyota at Ujjain had become strong. The kingdom of Magadha so powerful in the time of Jarāsandha, of the Pāṇḍava's time, had declined. All these events took place long before the rise of the Guptas in Magadha and the reign of Skandagupta. Vikramāditya, at Ujjayinī. Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* also dramatises the period between the fall of the Pradyotas at Ujjayinī and the rise of Vikramāditya. Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* appears to have been based on Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*. So if its latter Acts were available, they would confirm the incident in *Mṛcchakaṭika* showing the over-throw of one governor by a representative of the overlord of Ujjain. This incident according to Prof. Oliver took place in 5th century B. C. (8).

Bhāsa's *Avimāraka* seems to record a story long before the reign of the Pradyota dynasty. It enumerates the following names of countries :—सौवीर and काशी (Act I). There is also one मागधिका, a reference to that state or country. *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa* repeats one or two of them (Stanza 8, Act 2).

अस्मत्संबद्धो, मागधः काशिराजो, वज्जा, सौराष्ट्रो, मैथिल, क्षुरसेनः

Mr. Krishnaji Laxman Soman, whose literary name was "Kirat" has, in his monumental introduction in his volume of Marathi translations of all the available dramas of Bhāsa, published in 1931, exhaustively dealt with the question of the date of Bhāsa. According to him Pālaka and Gopālaka mentioned in *Svapnavāsavadatta* were the sons of Pradyota. Caṇḍamahāsenā and *Cārudatta* records incidents immediately after the demise of Caṇḍamahāsenā, to judge from Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Prof. Oliver would go so far only that *Mṛcchakaṭika* records incidents of the 5th century B. C. Be

that as it may. Bhāsa throws light on Ujjayinī as it was before Vikramāditya or his times.

Having regard to the fact, as seen from the history of Dharmaśāstras, although there has been growth and evolution, and Bhāsa's antiquity before the 1st Century B. C. has been shown in the preceding section, the system of law referred to by him in his works may be taken to be prevalent in the 1st century B. C. since it is, as a matter of fact, still the basis of Hindu Law. In his *Pratimā*, Act V, Bhāsa puts in the mouth of Rāvaṇa that, among others, he was proficient in Manaviya Dharmaśāstra, Bṛhaspati's Arthaśāstra, Medhātithi's Nyāyaśāstra and Śrāddhasamkalpa of Prācetas. In *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, there is the following (Act II):

एवं नामाहन्यहनि गोत्रानुकूलेभ्यो राजकुलेभ्यः कन्याप्रदानम्, प्रति इति
संप्रेषणा वर्तते ।

Bhāsa has no less than six dramas based on *Mahābhārata* and therefore is post-Bharata. It appears that the first Dharmaśāstra that placed restrictions on marriages in the same Gotra, existed in his time.

Luckily some of the Dharmaśāstra works mentioned by Bhāsa are still in existence, though it may be in the extended form, but the kernel is there. The social customs prevalent in his times are referred to in his *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* and *Cārudatta*, e. g. Gātrasevaka, Saṁvāhaka respectively, who in Northern India, at least, are very much in evidence.

Bṛhaspati's Arthaśāstra, which probably means the same work as the Smṛti of that name, or at any rate its evolution may be found in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Mahābhārata*, *Manu-smṛti* which certainly is the same as Manaviya Dharmaśāstra, in its present form, are works which at least throw light on the Judicial Administration of those days. Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* which probably belongs to the 1st century B. C. or its story may be taken to be of the period, or included earlier times, if the last three Acts of it are also discovered to be

based on Bhāsa's *Cārudutta*, which has only four Acts at present. How the description of a criminal trial in the former accords with modern criminal trials is shown by a scholar (8).

The Dharma Kosha Mandal of Wai, District Satara has published, upto now three volumes in which extracts under different topics of law are given from all the extant works of Dharmaśāstra. The topics are as follows:—

(१) व्यवहारस्थापना, (२) विवादपदनिबंध, (३) विवादसंयुक्तम्, (४) दायविभाग, (५) वास्तुकर्म, (६) समयस्यानपाकर्मः, (७) ऋणादानम्, (८) आपनिधिकम्, (९) दासकर्मकरकल्पः, (१०) संभूयसमुत्थानम्, (११) विक्रीतानुशयः, (१२) दत्तस्यानपाकर्मः, (१३) अस्वामिविक्रयः, (१४) स्वस्वामिसंबंधः, (१५) साहसम्, (१६) वाक्पाह्वयम्, (१७) दण्डपाह्वयम्, (१८) दत्तसमावहयम्, (१९) प्रकीर्णकानि (कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रम्).

All these cover even the modern Civil and Criminal Law and Evidence.

Reference to the authors mentioned by Bhāsa will show that they, like Manu and Brhaspati have discussed what is meant by Law, what are its foundations and what are the principles underlying them. Extracts from these works can easily be given in support of the statement made above but it is hardly necessary to do so at this stage. If the main thesis, the identification of Vikramāditya with Skandagupta, is accepted, then it may be appropriate to deal with this topic at length.

Dr. B. C. Chopra, Ootacamund has contributed a paper to the 12th Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Benares in January, 1944. In it, he describes an inscription of the time of Skandagupta, on a stone pillar, found in Rewa, somewhere in a jungle. According to the summary, which is at present available, the inscription is dated the 141st year of the Gupta era. If this era commenced in 57 B. C. (9) then the belief of the Europeans that the Gupta dynasty reigned from 313-470 A. D. (13), does not hold water. But if the

Gupta era commenced in 319, then this inscription may belong to Skandagupta I. But taking the commencement of the Gupta era to be in 57 B. C. by Skandagupta, this ruler of that name must be held to belong to the later Guptas. Anyhow the inscription in Rewa jungles extends far outside Oudh, to which the rule of the Guptas is said to be confined (13).

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M. V. KIBE

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ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S TREATMENT OF DOṢA

BY PROF. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

Ānandavardhana's view of *Doṣa* is quite a novel one in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. The earlier writers¹ had carefully tabulated the various faults that might occur in the usage of words, sentences, and the senses conveyed in poetry. They had given a list of logical, grammatical, syntactical and metrical flaws which might be inadvertently committed in compositions. The metaphysical question whether *Doṣas* were positive entities marring the beauty of poetry or merely negative ones resulting in the absence of *Guṇas* was also hotly discussed. But Ānandavardhana no longer considers them as absolute entities or attributes like the *Guṇas*. He speaks of *Doṣas* too only in relation to *Rasa*. According to him, *Aucitya* or propriety is to be regarded as the most fundamental principle governing the incorporation of *Rasa* into literature. The gravest defect in poetry is thus none other than *Rasa-bhaṅga* or hindrance to the even progress of *Rasa*, which, in its turn is a direct result of *anaucitya* or impropriety.² In what follows, Ānandavardhana's original observations on *Doṣa* are summarised.

‘Strict conformance to the canons of propriety (*aucitya*) may be observed in the works of all truly great writers. The most essential function of every *Mahākavi* is to conform to the principles of propriety in selecting his theme and giving adequate expression to it, always keeping *Rasa* in view as the primary goal to be achieved.³ In other words the poet should

1. For a fuller treatment of this subject *Vide* my article — ‘The Doctrine of *Doṣas* in Sanskrit Poetics’, I. H. Q. Vol. XX

2. Cf. ‘अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।’ — Dhv. P. 330 (the abbreviated form Dhv. is used for the *Dhvanyāloka*. Page references are to the Benares Edn. published with the *Lacana* and the *Bāla-priyā*).

3. वाच्यानां वाचकानां च यदौचित्येन योजनम् ।

रसादिविषयेनैतत्कर्म मुख्यं महाकवेः ॥ ——— Dhv. III.32

always be on his guard to steer clear of the deterrents of *Rasa*, — no matter whether he is engaged in the composition of a long poem or a short self-contained stanza (*Muktaka*), — provided he wants to infuse *Rasa* into his work.⁴

The deterrents (*Virodhins*) of *Rasa* invariably land a poet in *anaucitya*, which, as mentioned above, is the greatest flaw (*Doṣa*) that a poet may ever commit. They can be brought under the following heads :—

1. Adoption of *Vibhāvas* etc., associated with an incompatible *Rasa*.⁵ For instance, if after portraying a person as spiritually-minded (i. e. as a *Vibhāva* of *Sānta-rasa*), the poet makes the same person appear in the rôle of a romantic lover abruptly, we have *anaucitya*. Similarly, when a woman is feigning anger (*Kopa*, which is a *Bhāva*) after a love-quarrel (*Prāṇaya-kalaha*), if the hero is described as wooing her by growing eloquent over the emptiness of worldly sensual pleasures, *anaucitya* is the result. And again, supposing the lady does not yield to his importunities, if the hero is described as getting wild with rage and the *anubhāvas* of *Raudra-rasa* are brought out, we have *anaucitya*.

2. Distension or indulging in disproportionately lengthy descriptions of things though they might be, in some way, connected with the *Rasa*⁶ :— For instance, while seeking to describe the hero, if a poet flies off at a tangent to describe mountains, etc., at an inordinate length, he will be committing the flaw of *anaucitya*.

3. Abrupt break in the delineation of a *Rasa* as also abrupt intrusion of some other *Rasa* :—⁷ For example, after portraying the rise of mutual love in the hero and the heroine,

4. प्रबन्धे मुक्तके वापि रसादीन् बहुमिच्छता ।

यत्नः कार्यः सुमतिना परिहारे विरोधिनाम् ॥ — Dhv. III. 17.

5. विरोधिरससम्बन्धिविभावादिपरिग्रहः । — Dhv. III. 18. a

6. विस्तरेणान्वितस्यापि वस्तुनोऽन्यस्य वर्णनम् । — Dhv. III. 18b.

7. अकाण्ड एव विच्छित्तिरकाण्डे च प्रकाशनम् । — Dhv. III. 19a

if instead of describing their endeavours at union, the poet proceeds to dwell upon their other activities, *anaucitya* will result. In the same way, if a hero like Rāma is shown to suffer the pangs of separation from his lady-love when a terrible battle is raging at its height, there is *anaucitya*.⁸ The poet cannot escape this flaw by the excuse that the character is shown to act as a puppet in the hands of destiny; for the theme is not an end in itself for the poet; it is only a means which can be changed at will to be in harmony with the end, viz, throwing *Rasa* into bold relief.⁹

4. Frequent over-elaboration of a *Rasa* even when it has been adequately manifested¹⁰:— Too much of a good thing also becomes bad and by over-elaboration the delicate flower-like *Rasa* gets faded.

5. Lastly, impropriety in the portrayal of *Vṛtti*:— By *Vṛtti* is meant, the behaviour of the characters, the *Vṛttis* (*Kaiśikī* etc.) of Bharata, and the *Vṛttis* (*Upanāgarikā* etc.) of the rhetoricians.¹¹

The beauty and harmony of *Rasa* are thus marred by *anaucitya* or impropriety and it is the gravest flaw in the poet. Emptied of *Rasa*, a composition is worse than useless and *Nīrasatva* may be regarded as the most unpardonable error in the poet. It will take away from him even the justification for styling himself a poet. Nothing but oblivion is in store for such a work.¹² It is true that ancient poets were able to achieve poetic fame though they set at naught of rules.

8. of. *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, II Act.

9. न चैवंविधे विषये दैवव्याप्तोहितत्वं कथापुरुषस्य परिहारः, यतो रसबन्ध एव कवेः प्राधान्येन स्वप्रवृत्तिनिबन्धनं युक्तम् । इतिवृत्तवर्णनं तु तदुपाय एव ।
Dhv. III. 363

10. परिपोषं गतस्यापि पौनःपुन्येन दीपनम् ।
रसस्य स्याद्विरोधाय वृत्त्यनैचित्यमेव च ॥ Dhv. III. 19 b-c.

11. cf. Udbhaṭa's *Kāvya-lankārasaṅgraha* I. 1. ff

12. नीरसस्तु प्रबन्धो यः सोऽपशब्दो महान्कवेः ।
स तेनाकविरेव स्यादन्येनास्मृतलक्षणः ॥ — Dhv. p. 364

But the moderns should not belittle the truth of the above considerations following their example¹³. As a matter of fact, the above dicta are in complete conformity with the practice of master-poets like Vālmīki and Vyāsa.¹⁴

In this connection Ānandavardhana points out how the flaw of *anaucitya* can be avoided in different ways. There can be no dogmatic rule about *aucitya* and *anaucitya* which will have universal application. Each individual instance of poetry will have to be judged on its own merits. Some *Rasas* are mutually opposed ; e. g., *Śṛṅgāra* and *Bībhatsa*, *Vīra* and *Bhayānaka*, *Sānta* and *Raudra*, and *Sānta* and *Śṛṅgāra*.¹⁵ But they can be delineated simultaneously by the poet if the primary *Rasa* has been already well brought out and established on a secure footing. The principal *Rasa* should be competent enough to outshine the opposite *Rasa* ; that is all. Or the opposite *Rasa* might be made an ancillary of the principal one. In either case, no *anaucitya* is committed.¹⁶

Hence it follows that in every work of literature, there must be only one dominant *Rasa*, though the other *Rasas* also can enter into relation with it as ancillaries.¹⁷ The occurrence of the other *Rasas* can in no way detract from the importance of the principal one since the latter is seen steadily and constantly running through the entire work, and is never totally lost sight of.¹⁸ The unity of *Rasa* is analogous to the unity

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13. पूर्वे विशृङ्खलगिरः कवयः प्राप्तकीर्तयः ।
तान्समाश्रित्य न त्याज्या नीतिरेषा मनीषिणा — Dhv. P. 365.
 14. बाल्मीकिव्यासमुख्याश्च ये प्रख्याताः कवीश्वराः ।
तदभिप्रायबाह्योऽयं नास्माभिर्दक्षितो नयः ॥ — Dhv. P. 365
 15. Dhv. P. 381.
 16. विवक्षिते रसे लब्धप्रतिष्ठे तु विरोधिनाम् ।
बाध्यानामङ्गभावं वा प्राप्तानामुक्तिरच्छला ॥ — Dhv. III, 20
 17. प्रसिद्धेऽपि प्रबन्धानां नानारसनिबन्धने ।
एको रसोऽङ्गीकर्तव्यस्तेषामुत्कर्षमिच्छता ॥ — Dhv. II, 21
 18. रसान्तरसमावेशः प्रस्तुतस्य रसस्य यः ।
नोपहन्याङ्गितां सोऽस्य स्योयित्वेनावभासिनः ॥ — Dhv. III, 22

of action in a drama, where, in spite of the variety and complexity of the incidents, the organic wholeness of the theme is preserved. The diversity of ancillary *Rasas* only serves to enhance the beauty of the principal one.¹⁹

As a corollary, it follows that no other *Rasa* (opposed or unopposed), should receive greater treatment in a work than the principal one. Attention should be primarily devoted towards the principal *Rasa* and the others should come in only incidentally. By so doing the opposition between *Rasas* will soon disappear.²⁰

Further, an opposite *Rasa* may be pressed into service of the principal one by showing it to occur in a different character. For instance, if *Vīra* is being described in the hero, its opposite, viz., *Bhayānaka* may be delineated with references to the anti-hero and by so doing the effect of the principal *Rasa* is reinforced by striking contrast. Even elaboration of it at great length will cease to be a flaw then.²¹

It is also possible that sometimes two *Rasas*, mutually opposed, may be shown in one and the same character. In such instances the two *Rasas* should not be portrayed simultaneously; otherwise there would be *anauṇitya doṣa*. Some other *Rasa* should be made to intervene the two *Rasas*, and the fault is thus avoided.²² Nor is there anything surprising about this. For even in small self-contained stanzas (which are so very small in compass when compared with long

19. कार्यमेकं यथा व्यापि प्रबन्धस्य विधीयते ।

तथा रसस्यापि विधौ विरोधो नैव विद्यते ॥ — Dhv. I. I. 23

20. अविरोधो विरोधो वा रसोऽङ्गिनि रसान्तरे ।

परिपोषं न नेतव्यस्तथा स्यादविरोधिता ॥ — Dhv. III. 24

21. विरुद्धैकाश्रयो यस्तु विरोधी स्थायिनो भवेत् ।

स विभिन्नाश्रयः कार्यस्तस्य पोषेऽप्यदोषता ॥ — Dhv. III. 25

22. एकाश्रयत्वे निर्दोषो नैरन्तर्ये विरोधवान् ।

रसान्तरव्यवधिना रसो न्यस्यः सुमेघसा ॥ — Dhv. III. 26

cf. the intrusion of *Adbhuta* between *Sṛṅgāra* and *Śānta* in the *Nāgānanda*. — Dhv. III 26.

poems) consisting of not more than a single sentence, this phenomenon is observed. The mutual enmity of two *Rasas* is seen to disappear when a third *Rasa* intervenes between them.²³

Opposition and agreement between *Rasas* must be clearly noted as indicated above, and particularly when dealing with *Śṛṅgāra-Rasa*, as it is the most delicate of all the *Rasas*. The slightest inappropriateness will spoil it completely. And what is more, the flaw of the poet becomes most patent there. The poet should therefore take special care while portraying *Śṛṅgāra*.²⁴

Since *Śṛṅgāra* thus occupies the greatest place amongst the *Rasas*, more often than not, the poet will have to incorporate it into his work. He may have to infuse a tinge of *Śṛṅgāra* even into themes not strictly amenable to such treatment. But it will not be a fault provided the poet deliberately resorts to such 'Śṛṅgāric elaboration' with a definite purpose in view. The purpose may be either to win over the audience before giving them moral instruction or to invest his composition with greater beauty.²⁵

Such is the nature of *avirodha* and *virodha* amongst *Rasas*. And by grasping the above distinctions carefully, the poet will be in a position to steer clear of all blemishes. He will never stray away into the mire of *doṣas*.²⁶

23. रसान्तरान्तरितयोरेकवाक्यस्थयोरपि ।

निवर्तन्ते हि रसयोः समावेशे विरोधिता ॥ — Dhv. III. 27

24. विरोधमविरोधं च सर्वत्रेत्यं निरूपयेत् ।

विशेषतस्तु शृङ्गारे सुकुमारतरो ह्यसौ ॥

अवधानातिशयवात्रसे तत्रैव सत्कविः ।

भवेत्तस्मिन्प्रमादो हि झटित्येवोपलक्ष्यते ॥ — Dhv. III. 28-9

25. विनेयानुगमुखीकर्तुं काव्यशोभार्थमेव वा ।

तद्विरुद्धरसस्पर्शस्तदङ्गानां न दुष्यति ॥ — Dhv. III. 30

26. विज्ञायेत्थं रसादीनामविरोधविरोधयोः ।

विषयं सुकविः काव्यं कुर्वन् मुह्यति न क्वचित् ॥ — Dhv. III. 31

The ancient writer Bhāmaha,²⁷ and following him Daṇḍin²⁸, had advanced the view that a blemish is not always a blemish. Bhāmaha went to the extent of maintaining that a blemish may sometimes be converted into an excellence. Ānandavardhana's contention is that this fact of impermanence of *Doṣas*, recognised even by the earlier writers, would fit in with his scheme of poetry better than with the earlier one. By following the earlier view, we would be left without a positive criterion to help us in judging whether a blemish hinders or helps the poetic effect in a given instance. But if the principle of *Rasa-Dhvani* is accepted, there would be no longer any such difficulty. "*Dhvani* is the soul of poetry, *Rasa* is the soul of *Dhvani*, and *Śṛṅgāra* is the most important of all the *Rasas*." On the basis of this truth, we can arrive at a positive criterion for judging blemishes or *Doṣas*. *Doṣas* like *Śrutiduṣṭa* (lit. offending the ear)²⁹ may be looked upon as blemishes only when they creep into compositions treating of *Śṛṅgārārāsa* as the most primarily suggested emotion. In other places they cease to be faults.³⁰

Finally, Ānandavardhana attempts to offer a useful classification of *Doṣa*. He avoids going into minor details and broadly classifies all *doṣas* under two heads:— *avyutpattikṛta* and *aśaktikṛta*. *Vyutpatti* is the training and education which a poet has received; and *Śakti* the gift of poetic genius which he inherits. A blemish may be committed either for want of proper education (*avyutpatti*) or for want of poetic imagina-

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27. cf. सन्निवेशविशेषात्तु दुष्कृतमपि शोभते ।
नीलं पलाशमावद्धमन्तराले स्त्रजामिव ॥
किञ्चिदाश्रयसौन्दर्याद् धत्ते शोभासत्त्वाच्च ।
कान्ताविलोचनन्यस्तं मलीससमिवाञ्जनम् ॥ — Kāvyaśālikāra, I. 54-5
28. cf. न लिङ्गवच्चे भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।
उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ॥ — Kāvyaśālikāra, II. 51.
29. cf. Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśālikāra, I. 47.
30. श्रुतिदुष्टादयो दोषा अनित्या ये च दर्शिताः ।
ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदाहृताः ॥ — Dhv. II. 11

tion (*aśakti*). Of these, the former class of *doṣas* will not look glaring in case there is sufficient poetic imagination to cover them. But the latter class will strike one even at the first glance.³¹ By this Ānandavardhana indirectly shows the intrinsic relation between *Rasa* and *Śakti* or *Pratibhā*—a subject for the consideration of which, he devotes a whole chapter later on.³²

It is indeed a great compliment to the taste of Ānandavardhana that he refrains from illustrating the blemishes at great length like his predecessors in the field. He feels that captious discovery of blemishes in great poets on the part of the critic will be nothing but a sad commentary on his own lack of culture. He says "Even in the works of masters, blemishes are bound to creep in; but they need not be catalogued, overshadowed as they are by a thousand and one excellences."³³

31. अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संत्रियते कवेः ।

यस्त्वशक्तिकृतस्तस्य स झटित्यवभासते ॥ — Dhv. P. 316

32. The fourth *Uddyota*.

33. तत्तु सूक्तिसहस्रद्योतितात्मनां दोषोद्धोषणमात्मन एव दूषणं भवतीति न विमज्य दर्शितम्। — Dhv. P. 233.

SLAVERY AS KNOWN TO EARLY BUDDHISTS

By DR. B. C. LAW

Slavery is a very old institution. It existed, even in its worst form, in Egypt, Sumeria, Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece and Rome, China and Persia. It existed in different forms and degrees when Megasthenes visited India as a Greek ambassador. A regular trade in slaves was carried on in all these countries. It is rightly observed: "Slavery and idolatry of various kinds and forms darkened the social and religious life of the ancient peoples, and they were the two dreaded evils against which the human soul cried for relief, release, and emancipation."

If Megasthenes had paid the highest compliment to India on the ground that no person was held as a slave and all were treated as free, even the foreigners not being used as slaves, it was, as Rhys Davids sought to explain, for the reason that the kind and form of slavery which existed then in India was nothing when compared with the Greek or the Roman form.¹ But the better explanation seems to be that the Greek ambassador distinguished simply between *de jure* and *de facto* slaves. In India of his time all men were held equal and all Indians passed as free citizens in the eye of law. He did not omit to mention that both the philosophic view and the law of the land combined to see all men free in India, allowing property to be unevenly distributed.² In corroboration of the above testimony of Megasthenes one may cite the bold pronouncement in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, that servitude shall not be the condition of an Aryan, although it may be proper for the *Mlecchas* to sell or hold children to slavery.³ Accordingly it

1. *Buddhist India*, p. 55.

2. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 38 and 211.

3. *Arthaśāstra*—(Revised & edited by R. Shama Sastri), 1919, p. 181—*Mlecchānām adōṣaḥ prajāṃ vikretumādhatuṃ vā. Na tvevāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ.*

prescribes the following laws to safeguard the position of slaves and to merit the admiration of all right-thinking men.

Employing a slave to carry the dead or to sweep urine or the leavings of food, etc., keeping a slave naked or hurting or abusing him or violating the chastity of a female slave shall cause the forfeiture of the value paid for him or her. When a man commits or helps another to commit rape with a female slave, he shall not only forfeit the purchase value but also pay a certain amount of money to her and a fine of twice the amount to the government. The ransom necessary for a slave to regain his freedom is equal to what he has been sold for. Failure to set a slave at liberty on the receipt of a required amount of ransom shall be punished. If a pregnant female slave is sold or pledged without any provision for her confinement, her master shall be punished, as well as the abettor. Selling or mortgaging the life of a slave once liberated shall be punished with fine.

The statement in the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the slave-trade among the *Mlecchas* has its strong support in an incidental statement of the Buddha, purporting to say that the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras and other peoples of the Frontier countries admitted just two social grades of masters and slaves (*āyya, dāsa*) without meaning an impassable social barrier between the two: *ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hoti*.⁴ They are typically the peoples of the Uttarāpatha or North-Western India who are described in the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 207. 43 as terrible *Mleccha* tribes :

*Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api |
Yauna-Kāmboja-Gāndhārāḥ Kirāta-Barbaraiḥ saha. ||*

They are again the peoples whom the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa characterises as Persianised in their social organization (*Pārasaka-vaṇṇā*).⁵

The *Vidhurāpaṇḍita Jātaka* speaks of the four kinds of

4. *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, p. 149.

5. *Papañcasūdanī*, III, p. 410 : *Pārisaka-vaṇṇā*, (variant).

slaves : (1) those born of slave parents or begotten on slave women (*antojātā*),⁶ (2) those purchased with money (*dhana-kkītā*), (3) those reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits (*karamarānītā*), and (4) those who took to slavery of their own accord (*samaṃdāsavyamupagatā*).

Slavery might be incurred through capture⁷ or commuted death sentence or debt⁸ or voluntary self-degradation⁹ or judicial punishment.¹⁰

The *Manusamhitā* (viii. 415) distinguishes seven kinds of slaves : (1) those who are captured during the war, (2) those who serve in return for maintenance, (3) those who are born in the house, (4) those who are bought, (5) those who are received as gifts, (6) those who are inherited from the father, and (7) those who are made slaves by court sentence.

The *Arthaśāstra* list is made up of at least ten kinds of slaves, while Nārada's law book recognizes a still larger number. Thus the number of classes increased in time, and slavery assumed a feudal character since, perhaps, it received a legal sanction from the Brahmin Law-givers headed by Manu.¹¹

The individuals, captured in predatory raids were reduced to slavery.¹² They became slaves of their own accord.¹³ Children born to slaves were also slaves. In the majority of cases we find that the slaves were employed as household servants. They were also employed to cultivate lands. In the house of a pious Brāhmaṇa named Dhammapāla even the slaves and labourers gave alms and observed the precepts and fasts.¹⁴ The slaves were regarded as the property of the master.¹⁵ The *Sonanda Jātaka*¹⁶ speaks of manumitted slaves.

6. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, i., p. 300; *Jāt.* no. 545.

7. *Jātaka*, IV, 220. 8. *Ibid*, VI, 521.

9. *Vinaya*, I 72; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, 168. 10. *Jātaka*, I, 200.

11. *Manu*, VIII, 413 :

“*Sūdraṃ tu kārāyēd dāsyam kṛtam akṛtam eva vā |*
dāsyāyaiva hi sṛṣṭo 'sau Brāhmaṇasya svayambhuvā ||”

12. *Jātaka*, iv, 220. 13. *Vinaya Texts*, i, 191. 14. *Jātaka*, iv, 50.

15. *Visayha Jātaka*, *Jātaka* iv, 262.

The Jatakas contain instances where the slaves were bought for 700 *kahāpaṇas*.¹⁷ Traffic in human beings (*satta-vaṇijjā*, *manussavikkaya*)¹⁸ implied slave trade. According to the *Milinda*, rooms in a well-laid city or town had to be made for the residence of the various classes of people, including slaves and slave-girls.¹⁹

The Pali work *Apadāna* refers to household servants (*peṣṣikā*).²⁰ The slaves (*Dāsa-kammakaras*) laboured for others in return of some payment (*bhataka*), whether in kind or in money.²¹ The profession of a slave was hereditary. The agriculture labourers received the customary wages. The day labourers returned to their own houses in the evening.²² The slave or servant was an adjunct in all households, capable of rendering domestic service. The male and female slaves were domestic servants who resided in the houses of their masters and performed all household duties.²³ Children born of slave parents generally took to the same profession.²⁴ There was a home-born slave by the name of Biranī.²⁵ The captives or prisoners of war could be enslaved. A beautiful maiden, whenever caught as a prisoner of war, was used as a slave²⁶ (*dāsībhogena bhuñjissanti*). Slaves, specially female, were given away as gifts²⁷ (*dānaṃ*). A village superintendent was made a slave of the village because he slandered the villagers before the king.²⁸ Ministers condemned to death by the king for jealousy were given away as slaves²⁹ (*dāse katvā adāsi*). Attendants and menials belonged to the category of slaves.³⁰ A master had an absolute right over his slave.³¹ A female slave was considered as

16. *Jātaka*, no. 532. 17. *Jātaka*, iii, 343. 18. *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, 208.

19. *Milinda*, p. 331. 20. *Apadāna*, II, 357 foll.

21. *Jātaka*, II, 139; III, pp. 129, 257, 326 & 444; V, 212, 293; VI, 360. Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I, 2, 5, 1. 22. *Jātaka*, iii, 445.

23. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 200, 225, 350.

24. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 225, 451; III, pp. 409, 444. 25. *Ibid.*, vi, p. 117.

26. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 220. 27. *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 462, 464, 503, etc.

28. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 200, 241. 29. *Ibid.*, VI., p. 389.

30. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 320, 362.

31. *Ibid.*, VI., p. 300; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 360; *Ibid.*, p. 22.

one of the members of the household.³² A master was courteous enough to accept the words of his slave with due honour.³³ Slaves were permitted to learn reading and writing and handicrafts along with the sons of their masters.³⁴ Sometimes they were appointed as store-keepers or guards of property.³⁵ In some instances the suffering and happiness of the slaves were linked up with those of their masters.³⁶ For the slightest fault a slave was beaten, imprisoned and branded.³⁷ A female slave was thrown down at the door of the house and beaten with rope-ends by her master because she could not bring home her wages.³⁸ The slaves could be rightfully given away to another.³⁹ Some runaway slaves were seeking opportunity to free themselves from the clutches of their masters.⁴⁰ Slaves could regain freedom on payment⁴¹ or through voluntary manumission by their masters.⁴² A slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking,⁴³ fetching water,⁴⁴ pounding and drying rice,⁴⁵ carrying food and watching the field,⁴⁶ giving alms;⁴⁷ handing plates and dishes, bringing spittoon and fetching fans during meals,⁴⁸ and sweeping the yards and stables.⁴⁹ Slavery was so common that not only the kings and wealthy people but also the Brahmins and recluses and villagers and farmers kept slaves in their custody.⁵⁰

Slaves (*dāsā*) were drawn from all classes under various circumstances. Their lot was miserable and their status low. But, in spite of all that, they occupied a position in society. They could not be regarded as impure because they had to work for their masters in manifold household duties like helping their masters in dressing and undressing,

32. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 162; ii, p. 428. 33. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 485-86.

34. *Ibid.*, I, p. 451. 35. *Ibid.*, I, p. 225. 36. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 285.

37. *Ibid.*, I, p. 451. 38. *Ibid.*, I, p. 402.

39. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 285, 575. 40. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 452, 458.

41. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 547. 42. *Jātaka*, V, p. 313. 43. *Ibid.*, V, 105.

44. *Ibid.*, V, 284, 413. 45. *Ibid.*, I, 484. 46. *Ibid.*, III, 163.

47. *Ibid.*, IV, 67. 48. *Ibid.*, I, 453. 49. *Ibid.*, vi, 138.

50. *Ibid.*, II, 428; III, 101; V, 105; VI, 117.

assisting in the care of their bodies, preparing and serving the food and cleansing the house. They were not counted as a caste.

Female slaves could be emancipated only with the consent of their masters. The position of a female slave was rather pitiful. A slave woman like a Roman slave-girl was the property of her master who had every control over her. She was generally ill-treated. A painful instance of ill-treatment is found in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. A woman named Kālī was the maid servant of a house-holder's wife living at Śrāvastī. She was skilful and capable of doing her duties well. Kālī in order to test whether the fame of her mistress as a gentle and considerate lady was due to her or not, once rose late in the morning. Her mistress showed her dissatisfaction at this. On the second day she rose up late and was rebuked. On third day she rose up still very late and was so severely beaten by her mistress that her head was broken.⁵¹

In addition to other household duties, a slave-woman husked paddy,⁵² pounded rice,⁵³ and went to market.⁵⁴

A slave-woman could obtain freedom if she could prove herself worthy of it. A daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika's slave was given freedom when she defeated a Brahmin in argument and proved herself to be a woman of religious disposition.⁵⁵

The consent of the master was necessary for the marriage of his female slaves. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, had to secure the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, the daughter of a slave woman.

Maid-servants being of low birth were naturally uncultured and of low spirits. Some of them were in the habit of stealing coins or articles. But the influence of the Buddha's *Dharma* had a splendid effect on their character.⁵⁶

It is not a fact that the Buddha had not exerted himself

51. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 125 ff.; Cf. *Vimānavatthu Commy.*, pp. 205 ff.

52. *Dhammapada Commy.*, iii, 321. 53. *Jātaka*, No. 45.

54. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 208. 55. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, pp. 199 ff.

56. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 208 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, 214; *Vimānavatthu commy.*, 45-47, 91-92.

in the interest of the slaves and servants. The fact that bondage and indebtedness were held as positive disqualifications for admission into the Buddhist religious order and fraternity,⁵⁷ is not to be pressed as an argument. The slaves and debtors were excluded because the Buddha wanted to see Brotherhood founded by him as an association of free men. Among the philosophers and religious teachers who pleaded for the cause of equality and liberty, the Buddha ranked foremost, if he was not the pioneer of the movement. He described servitude (*dāsavyam*) as a most painful state of woe along with debt (*inaṃ*), imprisonment (*bandhanāgāraṃ* — lit. prison), illness (*rogaṃ*), and journey through a wilderness (*kaniāvaddhānamaggaṃ*).⁵⁸ He completely refrained from accepting male and female slaves (*Dāsī-dāsā-paṭiggahaṇā paṭivirato*).⁵⁹ He prohibited traffic in human beings (*sattavaṇijjā*) or slave-trade on the part of the *upāsakas*.⁶⁰ In accordance with a clear *Jātaka* maxim no man should offer himself to slavery. In order to ameliorate the condition of slaves and servants (*dāsa-kammakarā*) the Buddha laid down the five essential duties of a noble house-holder towards them, namely, "employing them according to their capacity, giving them proper meals and wages, attending them in times of illness, sharing with them delicacies and special dishes, and occasionally granting them leave."⁶¹

It may be said that the religious movement in India prior to Manu was directed to obtain emancipation from all kinds of bondage, physical, moral, intellectual, or spiritual. A change took place along with the Brahmanical reaction against the liberal and progressive thoughts. Slavery, instead of being abolished, came to be regarded as a necessary social institution. The classes of slaves increased in number, and there is no evidence of any attempt being made to improve their position in life.

57. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. 76—*Na bhikkhave ināyito pabbājetabbo.*

Na bhikkhave dāso pabbājetabbo.

58. *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, p. 73.

59. *Ibid.*, i, p. 5.

60. *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, p. 208—*Imā kho bhikkhave pañca vaṇijjā upāsakena akaraniyāti.*

61. *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, p. 191—"Yathābalaṃ kammanta-saṃvidhānena, bhatta-Vettanānuppadānena, gilānupaṭṭhānena, acchariyānaṃ rasānaṃ saṃvibhāgen i samaye vossaggena."

GENESIS OF THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY SRI GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

“ Mother (of mankind), hundred are your applications, a thousandfold is your growth, do you who fulfil a hundred functions, make this my (people) free from diseases.” (R. V. X. 97. 2)

The connection between the study of plant life and the Science of Medicine has been intimate throughout the whole course of genesis, development and the culmination of the latter in India—from the genesis traced in the verses of the *R̥gveda* down to its culmination in the monumental treatises of Caraka and Suśruta.

The application of plants as medicines is recorded in both the *R̥g.* and *Atharva Vedas*. The first medical utterance of man is to be found in the *R̥gveda*, in the *Auśadhi Sūkta* of the Tenth Maṇḍala, where one hundred and seven applications of the brown tinted plants are mentioned. But the number must not be taken literally, but as a vague statement of plurality.

Two other hymns (VII, 18 ; X, 145) are also devoted in invoking plants against poison and ‘a rival wife, the latter to make “ my husband my alone.”

We get in these three hymns the names of certain plants with Soma, the king of plants, at their head, and *Aśvavatī*, *Somavatī*, *Udojasa* and *Urjayantī*, and possibly also *Aśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*), *Palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*) and *Śālmali* (*Bombay malabaricum*) as powerful agencies of cure against diseases.

1. Eng. translations are all from Wilson’s ed.

“ From him, O Plants ! in whom you creep from limb to limb, from joint to joint, you drive away diseases like a mighty (prince), stationed in the midst of his host.” 12.

“ The plants falling from heaven said, ‘ The man whom living we pervade, will not perish.’ ” 17.

Innumerable applications of plants are referred to though not definitely named. The genesis of the whole body of medicine is given as Divine and the nature of the cure is clearly characterised as radical, permanent and comprehensive, though the details are lacking. Where are the details gone ? They are either lost altogether to all intents and purposes, or they existed in popular memory and were handed down by tradition from generation to generation till at last they came to be synoptically recorded in the Vedic Texts quoted above.

Curiously enough we have a harvest of details bearing on the subject of medicinal plants, their utilities, their classifications, the diseases against which they are applied, the association in which they have to be applied and the rest, in the texts of the Atharvaveda. In the Rgvedic hymns medicinal uses of plants together with mention of some plants are given, classification of plants are indicated, and the diseases, supernatural and natural, are referred to as being within the province of perfect and radical cure through the application of plants as drugs. But a more elaborate account is given in the Atharvaveda. There are points of similarity between the two ; nay, there is essential identity. The latter seems to be only an elaborate edition, a popular commentary of the former.

For the sake of convenience we classify the medicinal plants and diseases against which they are used, in the Atharvaveda, under the following heads :—

1. Those that cure physical maladies brought about by purely physical agencies (Kāyacikitsā).

2. Those that cure supernatural maladies brought about by supernatural agencies (Bhūtavidyā).
3. „ „ „ help in the procreation and protection of children (Kaumārabhṛtya).
4. „ „ are used for curing and healing up of minor and serious wounds, etc. (Śalya-vidyā).
5. „ „ „ used against the venom of snakes, and other insects (Viṣa-vidyā).
6. „ „ „ used for securing the prosperity and prolongation of life (Rasāyaṇa).
7. „ „ „ used for virility and erotic success (Vājikaraṇa)
8. Miscellaneous uses of plants.

Plants against each of the maladies enumerated above are mentioned together with their application. In almost all cases plants as drugs have to be used in association with some incantations or invocations of the Divine. The diseases were never thought to be pure affairs of the body, and their cure to be perfect and radical, had to be both bodily and spiritual.

1. *Physical Maladies* : The physical maladies against which cure is provided are : obstruction of urine (I. 3); white leprosy (I, 23, 24); abortion (II. 25); head disease, evil of the eye, against fever and other maladies (V. 4); against disease *takman* (XIX. 39), and injury and diseases in general (I. 2). The medicinal plants identified with their modern representatives are : Reeds, Haridrā, Kuṣṭha, Citraparṇī, Māṣaparnī, Lakṣman, Putrajānī, Putrakandā and Putrada.

2. *Supernatural Maladies* : As the title indicates remedies of supernatural diseases were exclusively directed against supernatural agencies such as, demons, yakṣmas, ghosts, the curses of gods and the like. Plants used as drugs were sometimes applied by themselves, and sometimes in association with incantations, invocations and magical formulae.

Remedies prescribed are: against curses and cursers (II, 7); against various evils (IV. 7); against witchcraft (II. 18); possession by evil spirits (37); exorcism (V. 15); to discover sorcerers (IV. 20); for relief from yakṣma (VI. 85), and for some one's restoration to health (VIII. 7). All the plants prescribed are not unfortunately named, only a few can be identified with their modern representatives, and they are Durvā, Apāmārga, Aśvattha, Banyan, Ajaśrngī, Avakā, Varāṇa, Sahadevī, Sadampuṣpa, etc.

3. *Plants that help in the procreation and protection of children*: It is a matter of unique pride that procreation and preservation of children received consideration of the ancient mind. Side by side with procreation had to be considered the hindrances, natural and supernatural, and consequently the requisite remedies.

The plants used for these purposes are: the white and yellow Mustard plants, and they are prescribed against abortion (II. 25); for fecundity "to procure the conception of male offspring" (III. 23). Book VIII. 6, prescribes medicines to guard a pregnant woman from demons.

4. *Plants used for curing wounds*:—The hymns are very few in number, but they are enough to show that the first Surgeons of India, for so we must call them, knew a good deal of human Anatomy, displayed a good deal of skill in prescribing remedies according to the nature of wounds. They also appear to be acquainted with a process of classification of plants. The hymns bearing on the subject are: IV. 12; V. 5; VI. 109, and the plants prescribed as relieving drugs are: Arundhatī, (Śilācī), Plakṣa, Khadira, Dhava, Nyagrodha, Parṇa and Pippalī.

5. *Plants used against venom of snakes and other insects*: Medicines were also provided for the treatment of snake bites, etc. The kind of snakes from which men were in constant apprehension of danger are distinctly mentioned. The germ of snake worship as represented by the modern Vāstu and Manasā Pujā may be traced to one of the verses. One of

the verses again shows that the Vedic physician knew the physiological fact that heart is the centre of all vital activities. The hymns referred to are : V. 13 ; VII. 56 ; X. 4. Plants are : Madhūka, Madhuga.

6. *For securing prosperity and prolongation of life with plants* :— The Vedic physician took into account man not only in a state of disease but also in a state of health. They devoted their attention to find remedies not only to granting security to life but also to the prolongation of life. The most important plants used are : Aparājiā, Parṇa, Palāśa, Aśvattha, Tālīśa, Pāṭhā, Svadhā, Khadira and Śimsapā.

Prosperity is also sought to be brought about by the defeat of foes. The following hymns illustrate our remarks : II. 27 ; III. 5, 6 ; VI. 15 ; 96 ; 129.

7. *Plants used for virility and erotic success* : Medicines were also found out and prescribed both for increasing man's virility on the one hand, and for impairing the virility of opponents. Very allied to the problem of virility is the problem of amatory success, and we find a large number of plants, such as, Madhūka, Yaṣṭimadhu, Pāṭhā, Vānaparṇi, Kapitthaka, Arka, Candā and Śaṅkhaṇḍikā (hemp). The hymns concerned are : I. 34 ; III. 18 ; IV. 4 ; VI 72 ; 107 ; 138, 139, and VII. 38.

8. *Miscellaneous uses of plants* : Items are many.

(a) *Utility of plants to promote growth of hair* : It is surprising that even in its infancy the medical science (?) in India took note of the importance of cosmetic considerations for the purpose of the improvement of appearance. Hymns VI., 30, 136 and 137 mention Śamī as the plant to be used for contributing to the preservation, growth, development and nicety of hairs.

(b) *Plant amulets for various purposes* : Amulet of *Varaṇa* (X. 3) is recommended to be worn for the prevention of injury to body, atonement of hereditary sins, warding off foes, and the attainment of prosperity. Amulet of *Darbha* (XIX. 28-33) is used for the purpose of the prolongation of

life, for protection, for warding off enemies and for a variety of material blessings. An amulet of *Udumbara* (XIX. 21) assures blessings of progeny, material prosperity, protection against enemy, and lordship over men and other animals. The plants *Jaṅgida* (34, 35), *Śatavāra* (36) and *Guggula* (38) are mentioned as remedies against diseases and for protection against witchcraft, and for various other blessings.

LATER DEVELOPMENT

Evidently a long period must have elapsed between rudimentary Science of Medicine gleaned out of Vedic Texts as shown above and scientifically written works of Caraka and Suśruta. Our business is not to discuss the gradual development of the Āyurvedic Science but to remain satisfied with the tracing of its genesis to that fountain head of all Sciences and Arts, namely, the Vedic Texts. From the statements in the Caraka, Suśruta and other Medical treatises it is clear beyond all possibility of doubt, that, there must have existed a treatise or treatises of the name marking the intermediate period of transition between the Vedas on the one hand, and the Caraka and Suśruta on the other. Without the hypothesis of the existence of such a work the unbridgeable gulf separating the rudimentary science of medicine gleaned out of the Vedic Texts and the fully developed and scientifically accurate works of Caraks and Suśruta cannot be explained.

In any case Atharvaṇic origin of the Indian Science of Medicine seems to be warranted by facts. Caraka appears to be decisive on the point (Ca. Saṁ. I, Chap. XXX, 8, 9) : "If anybody enquires from which of the four Vedas, Rg, Sāma, Yajus, and Atharva, Āyurveda, i.e. the Veda of Life emanates? What is Life? Why the treatise is called the Science of Life? Is it transient or permanent? What are the sub-divisions of the Science of Life? To whom is it open for study and why? A physician when thus interrogated, of all the four Vedas, should mention the Āyurveda emphatically as the Veda of Life, i. e. should point out the Āyur-Veda as a part of the Atharva for this reason that the Atharva

has prescribed treatment by gift, expiation, sacrifice, atonement and fast, as well as by incantations, and has prescribed treatment solely as conducive to the welfare of life, etc. ”

“ It is called the Āyurveda or the Science of Life, because it enables us to understand what Āyu or Life is. If asked how it explains life, the answer is this,—It is called Āyurveda because it brings home to us the nature of Āyu by characterisation, by happiness, by misery, by good and evil, and by positive and negative proofs.” The Suśruta coming after the Caraka precisely agrees with it in describing the same genesis of Āyurveda (Sūtra. i. 3).

The major divisions of the Science of Medicine as occurring in the two treatises, the Caraka and Suśruta Samhitās, are as follows :—

(Caraka, I, xxx, 15 ; Suśruta, I, i, 3) :—

1. Śalyatantra (Major Surgery).
2. Śālākya tantra (Minor Surgery).
3. Kāyacikitsā (Medicine).
4. Bhūtavidyā (Demonology).
5. Kaumārabhṛtya (the Science of Paediatrics).
6. Agadatantra (Toxicology).
7. Rasāyana (the Science that treats of prolonging life).
8. Vājīkaraṇatantra (the Science of Aphrodisiacs).

And these precisely correspond to the divisions of this Science in its rudimentary stage as we have deduced above from the hymns of the Atharva Veda.²



2. An account of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in this Science and in other aspects are given in my book, “ Some Aspects of Indian Civilization.” Calcutta, 1939.

